





R E P O R T

OF THE

BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF LABOR,

EMBRACING THE

ACCOUNT OF ITS OPERATIONS AND INQUIRIES FROM AUGUST 2,
1869, TO MARCH 1, 1870, INCLUSIVE,

BEING THE FIRST SEVEN MONTHS SINCE ITS ORGANIZATION.

B O S T O N :

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(CORNER OF FEDERAL STREET.)

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INTRODUCTION.

In addition to the general subject-matter suggested by the Resolve creating this Bureau, and germane thereto, there will be found herein a brief sketch of the history of labor and laborers, and of the poor, and of the legislation in reference to them in England, from the beginning of the 14th century down to the present time. To aid us in our researches in this direction, we addressed a note to Hon. J. Lothrop Motley, Minister for the United States, requesting the favor of a list of public documents relating to the general subject. That gentleman very promptly and kindly replied, and we desire to express our thanks for the very complete catalogue which will be found appended to this Report. All the works named ought to be procured and placed in our State Library. We have also attempted a history of the same subjects in Massachusetts since its settlement, and incorporated remarks on factory life and the employment of children in manufacturing establishments; remarks on the life and homes of low-paid laborers in Boston, and upon tenement and other lodging-houses therein. To these is added the testimony, written and oral, of actual operatives and laborers,—with tables of wages, earnings and expenses of workingmen and women, and other matters relating to the general subject. And here we would add, that the interest in the work of the Bureau, by parties other than employers and employed, while it has been such as to make serious demand on its time, has most acceptably proved that many minds are awakened to the necessity of the work. Books have been asked for and information desired by persons, at home and abroad, which we hope the Report will answer, at any rate, in part.

Of this nature are the following questions, sent by a gentleman in England through the British Consul resident in Boston :—

SPECIAL DOCUMENTS REQUESTED.

Please send the latest "Reports of Board of Health," showing mortality in tenement-houses, &c.

Latest "Reports of Labor Exchange," showing what wages can be obtained by operatives.

Please also inform me—

1. What is the position of the artisan or industrial classes in your consular district?

2. What proportion do the numbers so employed bear to the other classes?

3. What description of houses and lodgings are generally occupied by them; and what rent do they pay?

Single men in boarding-houses, what do they pay?

4. What are the hours of labor?

5. What is the nature of operatives' engagements with employers? Are they engaged by the day, week or month?

6. What is the state of the labor market, and do you consider it presents openings for the introduction of labor from without, or the reverse?

7. Is the system of coöperation general? Can you instance any successful societies that have been formed?

8. Are trades-unions general? Are strikes among operatives of frequent occurrence?

9. Has the price of living increased in a greater ratio than the increase of wages within the last few years?

10. What are the aggregate amounts of deposits, and number of depositors in principal savings banks within the last few years?

Have the sums deposited been on the increase, or otherwise, within the last few years?

The subject is exciting great attention in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe. The recent letters of Edward King, in the "Boston Journal," from which we have made extracts, show the depth of the movement, and that it is more than time that the most serious attention should be awakened to a subject of so vast import. Here we have not yet seen all the evil results that have cropped out abroad, and our hope is, that by timely caution and legislation, we may prevent them.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

OFFICE OF BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF LABOR, }
STATE HOUSE, BOSTON, March 1, 1870. }

*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of
the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.*

The legislature of 1869 passed the following Resolve providing for the establishment of a Bureau of Statistics on the subject of Labor :—

Resolved, That the governor, with the advice and consent of the council, is hereby authorized to appoint, as soon after the passage of this resolve as may be, and thereafter biennially in the month of May, some suitable person to act as chief, who shall have power to appoint a deputy, and said chief with his deputy, shall constitute a bureau of statistics, with head-quarters in the state house.

The duties of such bureau shall be to collect, assort, systematize and present in annual reports to the legislature, on or before the first day of March in each year, statistical details relating to all departments of labor in the Commonwealth, especially in its relations to the commercial, industrial, social, educational and sanitary condition of the laboring classes, and to the permanent prosperity of the productive industry of the Commonwealth.

That said bureau shall have power to send for persons and papers, to examine witnesses under oath, and such witnesses shall be summoned in the same manner, and paid the same fees, as witnesses before the superior courts of the Commonwealth.

This Resolve was approved by the governor on the 23d day of June, 1869. On the 31st of July following, Henry K. Oliver, of Salem, was appointed chief of the Bureau, and by him, on the 4th day of August ensuing, George E. McNeill, of

Boston, was appointed deputy, and the work of the Bureau commenced,—their head-quarters, according to the statute, being fixed at the State House.

The preliminary work of the Bureau was to endeavor to ascertain from the phraseology of the Resolve what duties were devolved upon it, what were its powers, what the extent, and what the limitations of its official labors. An exact and literal interpretation of the words would seem to confine its functions to the simple matter of collecting, assorting, systematizing and presenting, on the first day of March in each year, statistical details relating to the several departments of labor in the Commonwealth, and, further, to ascertain what is the relation of such labor to the commercial, industrial, social, educational and sanitary condition of the laborers, and the relation of such labor, moreover, to the permanent prosperity of the industry of the State.

Now, in endeavoring to learn the object which the law-making power seeks to accomplish by any given statute, the executive department which is to put such statute in operation, has, in general, only the words thereof as a guide, particularly if the law be new, and with no judicial decisions upon any points involved. And these words may aid, or may embarrass. Their very juxtaposition may help, or may hinder. They may, and at once and obviously, suggest an intent, or they may darken counsel and impede. And if the limiting words are many, and of no immediate relation to each other, and each denotes a separate object, the difficulties are all the greater.

Here we found ourselves in a field to us entirely new and unexplored, the boundaries of which we could not then (nor can we now,) perceive by any telescopic power at our command. Nor was there path or landmark, nor any precedent of former explorer here, at home, to guide us. We have had to tentaculate our way, step by step, often in doubt; at times feeling that we might be wrong, and must return and take a new departure, sometimes bewildered by diversity of counsel, and sometimes anxious lest variety of views among the friends of a true labor reform might disconcert all effort after success. As in the inception of all reforms whereof the ultimate object may be known,—perhaps a single goal to be reached,—an element of serious disturbance, if not of thorough defeat, is the

variety of opinion upon the means and methods to be adopted. But, as no discussion was had upon the subject in the legislature when the creating Resolve was presented, the whole matter was left for the Bureau to interpret to the best of its ability.

The immediate impression derived from the mere words of the Resolve was, that the leading duty of the Bureau was the gathering of statistics of labor, and of reporting them to the legislature, together with what might be ascertained of their influence upon the health, education, manners of life and industrial habits of those whose daily labor earns their daily bread, but who, it is not to be ignored, are, as a rule, very inconsiderable sharers in the wealth they help to generate.

This impression finally enlarged itself, however, into a more comprehensive thought, that it was our duty to inquire into the very important subjects of the hours of labor, the wages, the savings, the manner of life at home and from home, the recreations, the culture, moral and mental, of the laborers, and the influence of the several kinds of labor upon their health of body and brain, not ignoring the subjects of coöperation, strikes, trades'-unions, and the general relations of capital and labor, with such matter relating to the history of labor and labor legislation, here and abroad, as we might be able to gather; so that the actual status, as far as the researches of a few months would permit us to do, of the laboring men, women and children of Massachusetts might be ascertained, and be set forth to the legislature and people of the State.

Before taking any positive steps, it seemed prudent to secure legal interpretation of any uncertain points in the statute, and the first inquiry related to the examination of persons *under oath*, the question having arisen whether the power to administer oath was given to the chief or to the deputy, by the terms of the Resolve. A letter of inquiry to the attorney-general of the State brought the following reply:—

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE, BOSTON, August 10, 1869.

SIR:—In reply to your letter of August 5th, received through the post-office yesterday, it is my opinion that the power conferred upon the Bureau of Statistics by Resolve, chapter 102, 1869, to send for persons and papers, and to examine witnesses under oath, does not give to the chief or to the deputy of the Bureau, the power to administer the oath to witnesses to be examined. In the legisla-

tion of this Commonwealth, where provision is made for examining witnesses under oath before special tribunals, there is usually an express mention made of the persons or officers who may administer the oath. Instances of this may be found in the statutes concerning witnesses before legislative committees, Gen. Stat., chap. 2, sect. 20; before the judges of insolvency, Gen. Stat., chap. 118, sect. 5; before arbitrators, referees and auditors, Gen. Stat., chap. 131, sect. 7; before coroners, chap. 175, sect. 7; before municipal authorities, Stat. 1863, chap. 158. The only exceptions to this general usage which now occur to me are in the case of witnesses before the Executive Council, in a committee thereof, Stat. 1861, chap. 161, or in the case of the Resolve to which you bring my attention. By the Gen. Stat., chap. 120, sect. 29, justices of the peace are authorized to administer oath in all cases in which an oath is required, unless a different provision is made by law. The power to administer an oath should not be inferred by any light implication, and, in my opinion, the Resolve under consideration does not include the power.

I am, very respectfully, yours,

CHARLES ALLEN, *Attorney-General*.

Hon. H. K. OLIVER, *Chief of Bureau of Statistics*.

Finding, therefore, that neither the chief nor the deputy had power to administer an oath to witnesses summoned, the difficulty was overcome by the issuing from the governor of a commission as justice of the peace to the chief of the Bureau.

The inquiry now arose, by what means, and from what sources, shall "statistics of labor" be derived? The question was very embarrassing, because the phrase is so very comprehensive. For the purpose for which this department was created,—the accomplishment of an object of far greater importance than figurate returns of industry, namely, the relation of labor to the condition of the laborer, the determination of his position in society, his education, his recreative means, his health, his home and its surroundings; for the ascertaining of the thousand yet unstated influences that are acting upon him, a path must be taken extending far beyond that pursued by a collector of mere facts. These are indeed necessary, and measurably have been obtained, but they are necessary and valuable only so far as they serve as lights to the greater end.

A good deal of thought upon the subject resulted in the de-

cision to apply to the assessors of towns for information as to the leading branches of business in their several towns, and the names of the employers engaged therein. And, inasmuch as the compliance with these requests would make demands upon the time and labor of those officials, we examined the Resolve to learn whether we were authorized to make payment for the service. Not being satisfied that authority was granted, we again sought counsel of the Attorney-General in the following letter:—

BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF LABOR, STATE HOUSE, }
BOSTON, August 17, 1869. }

HON. CHARLES ALLEN, *Attorney-General*.

DEAR SIR:—It will be necessary, in carrying out the objects of the Resolve creating this Bureau, to open a wide correspondence with some officials in our several cities and towns, and those officials, in obtaining answers to our questions, must necessarily expend much time and labor. For this they should be remunerated. It has appeared to us in studying the phraseology of the Resolve that, these officers would be “in place of witnesses giving their testimony on circulars missive of the Bureau, and therefore, could be paid as such.” Is this correct? Or, if this be not a right inference, would it be proper, first sending to such officials the requisite blank returns, to summon them to appear with these returns filled out (thus “sending for persons and papers”), examine them under oath as to the correctness of their replies, and then pay them as witnesses?

2. What is the manner of summoning witnesses before the superior courts of the Commonwealth, and does the Resolve demand that the summoning officers of the courts shall be the summoning officers of Bureau, and the blank forms of the courts shall be used as the forms of the Bureau?

3. What are the fees of such witnesses, and how paid?

Very respectfully, yours,

HENRY K. OLIVER, *Chief of Bureau*.

The following reply was received:—

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE, }
BOSTON, August 19, 1869. }

SIR:—In reply to your letter of inquiry of August 17, my opinion is as follows:

The Resolve of 1869, chap. 102, providing for the establishment of a “Bureau of Statistics on the Subject of Labor,” authorizes the

Bureau to send for persons and papers, and to examine witnesses under oath; and provides that such witnesses shall be summoned in the same manner, and paid the same fees as witnesses before the superior courts of the Commonwealth. Salaries are also established for the chief and his deputy, and provision made for the payment of the office and travelling expenses of the Bureau.* It was not contemplated that this Bureau should incur any other expense than such as may be fairly included in these provisions.

The power to send for persons and papers, and examine witnesses under oath, with a provision for paying the witnesses the same fees as witnesses before the superior court, does not include authority to pay them for time and trouble in preparing to testify. The fees for witnesses before the superior court are \$1.25 a day, with four cents per mile out and home.—Gen. Stat. chap. 157, sect. 8. This provision for compensation is limited to witnesses examined by the Bureau on oath. There is no provision for taking depositions. It is therefore my opinion that there is no authority to pay any body for services of the kind referred to, except to pay the witness fees above named, to such as are actually examined on oath before the Bureau.

No place being fixed for the examination of the witnesses, this may be done at any suitable place fixed by the Bureau.

It was apparently contemplated that in this as in other instances, persons having information of the kind desired, would, to a reasonable extent, be willing to furnish it to the Bureau, without charge. Should existing laws be found inadequate, the legislature may hereafter make new laws, compelling corporations, or paying individuals to supply what is needed.

The provision that witnesses shall be summoned does not make it the duty of the Bureau to summon them in due form of law, if the witnesses will attend voluntarily. If necessary to summon them it is to be done by a summons issuing from a justice of the peace.—Gen. Stat. chap. 131. The summons may be served by any officer qualified to serve civil process, or by a disinterested person.—Gen. Stat. chap. 131.

I am, very respectfully, yours,

CHARLES ALLEN, *Attorney-General*.

Hon. H. K. OLIVER, *Chief of Bureau*.

Desiring to hear testimony, and that all our official papers might be in proper shape, we requested the Attorney-General to prepare for the Bureau a form of summons, to be used in

cases where an ordinary request to appear and testify might fail; and, at the same time, inquired what course should be pursued in case of a refusal to obey summonses, to which the following reply was received on same day:—

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE, BOSTON, }
November 16, 1869. }

SIR:—I have your letter of to-day, asking me to prepare a form of summons to parties to appear and testify before your Bureau. In reply, I inclose to you a printed form, such as is used in the courts, with the requisite alterations.

You ask what is to be done in case of a non-compliance with your summons. No provision is made for such a contingency; so that, if a witness refuses to obey, you are to “take no note of him, but let him go.”* The statute confers no authority upon you to bring him before you by a *capias*, or deal with him as for a contempt, and no such authority exists by implication.

I am, very respectfully, yours,

CHARLES ALLEN, *Attorney-General*.

These opinions throwing some light upon our path, we moved forward and endeavored to ascertain the addresses of parties acting as employers in the different classes of labor throughout the State. This we sufficiently accomplished by preparing and sending a letter, with accompanying blank circular to the assessors of the several cities and towns of the Commonwealth, excepting Boston, in which we propose hereafter to make investigations personally, or by witnesses duly summoned. The letter was as follows:—

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

OFFICE OF BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF LABOR, }
STATE HOUSE, BOSTON, , 1870. }

To the Assessors of :

GENTLEMEN:—The Legislature of 1869 passed the following Resolve providing for the establishment of a Bureau of Statistics on the subject of Labor:—

[Here followed the Resolve. See page 5.]

* 2 Watch. “How if a’ will not stand?”

Dogberry. “Why, then, take no note of him, but let him go; and presently, call the watch together and thank God you are rid of a knave.”

Verges. “If he will not stand when he is bidden, he is none of the Prince’s subjects.”—*Much Ado about Nothing*. Act III., § 3.

This Resolve was approved by the Governor, June 23, 1869,—and the Bureau commenced its work on the first day of August following.

To forward the objects for which it was created, it is necessary to know what manufacturing, mechanical and other establishments employing operatives or laborers, may exist in the several cities and towns of the Commonwealth; and as the duties of your office put you in possession of this information, you are respectfully requested to insert in the accompanying blank the several corporate, or recognized, names of such establishments in your town, the name of the article manufactured in each, and the name of its proprietor, agent or superintendent, with his residence and postal address.

In some instances, the blanks sent out are, to save trouble, already filled so far as is known. In such case, you are requested to examine the document, to make any needed corrections or additions, and then to transmit it to this office in the envelope herewith forwarded.

If there be no such establishments within your limits, please state that fact on the blank, and return it as above.

HENRY K. OLIVER, *Chief of Bureau.*

GEORGE E. McNEILL, *Deputy of Bureau.*

The blank was headed as follows:—

*Manufacturing and Mechanical, or other Establishments, &c., Employing
Operatives, in the Town of*

Name of establishment.

Kind of manufacture.

Proprietor or agent.

His residence.

His postal address.

To these inquiries very courteous response was made, and a list of employers sufficient for our purpose was readily made up. To draw public attention more specially to the objects of the Bureau, the following circular had been already published in newspapers in various parts of the State:—

C I R C U L A R .

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF LABOR, STATE HOUSE, }
BOSTON, October 1, 1869. }

The Legislature of 1869 passed the following resolve providing for the establishment of a Bureau of Statistics on the subject of Labor:—

[Here followed the Resolve.]

The Bureau is now organized, and for the purpose of obtaining information upon the specialty intrusted to its charge, earnestly solicits correspondence from any parties interested in the labor question, employers and employed, men and women, in any and every department and kind of labor throughout the Commonwealth, agricultural, manufacturing of every sort, mining, fishing, mechanical, &c., &c. Such correspondence should relate to the moral, social, educational and sanitary condition of working people; the influence of their special labor upon each of these points; their hours of labor; their wages, and how paid, whether in cash or store-orders, and how often; their average earnings, and their average cost of living per year; the conveniences or inconveniences of their places of daily work (dimensions of rooms, ventilation, heating, &c.); their means of moral and mental improvement; their homes and surroundings; their home life and recreations; their habits of temperance or otherwise, &c., &c., adding to these the influence of short time upon the interest of employer and employed, and upon the whole condition of the latter.

Blank circulars, containing questions in detail upon the points above specified, will be sent, on application, to persons desirous of communicating with the Bureau.

Parties desiring to be heard upon any matters connected with the general subject are requested to inform the Bureau, and a time therefor will be arranged.

HENRY K. OLIVER, *Chief.*

GEO. E. MCNEILL, *Deputy.*

We were greatly surprised and disappointed at the very limited number of responses made to this particular circular. Up to this present time of writing (December 30) no employer has communicated with us, and very few of the employed. To other circulars, subsequently sent, more liberal response was made, upon which we shall speak more fully in the proper place. Our solution of this disappointing fact (if inaccurate,

we shall rejoice to be put right,) is, that the employers feel insufficient interest in the subject, or a determination not to reply, and that the employed, generally untrained and unaccustomed to expressing their thoughts in writing, are also prevented from replying—and of this we have testimony—by their *fears*—fears that if it became known that they had given information, they would be discharged from their immediate work and debarred from getting work elsewhere, or, at any rate, in their immediate vicinity; for it is well known, that in case of the discharge of an operative for alleged fault from a given mill in a manufacturing town, it is the custom to notify other employers in the same town of such discharge, that they may not give the discharged person employment. In fact, it was stated in a recent newspaper, that an operative having been discharged from a mill in New Hampshire, cautionary notices against him were sent to all the other mills in the State. It was likewise in evidence, before the commission appointed by the British Parliament to investigate the subject of the employment of children and young persons in factories, that parties summoned by the commission, and therefore *compelled* to testify, were discharged from their work in consequence of so testifying.* Charles Stewart, a reluctant witness before the committee on the ten hour bill, though absent from his work only so long as was required, found himself, on his return, supplanted in his situation; and Alexander Deans, summoned before the same committee and testifying, found, on his expeditious return to his work, that he was discharged; so that it is a positive fact that the committee ceased to summon factory operatives, lest they should lose the very bread that fed them if they gave testimony; and yet one of them testified fully of the kindness of his employer, and hoped that the testimony he had been compelled to give would not influence his master's mind against him (the operative) for so doing. But he was discharged nevertheless. For testifying, and testifying under oath, and by compulsion of summons, and giving facts and truths upon the actualities of factory labor, and of the management of factory laborers, adults and children, they lose their bread. We may, therefore, reasonably conclude, that had the

* Wing's "Evils of Factory System;" Alfred's "History of Factory Movement," Vol. II. pp. 317, 318.

poor fellows committed to memory, and rehearsed before the committee, the glowing panegyric uttered by a celebrated writer on cotton manufacturing in England—Dr. Ure—and its excellent influence on physical health, when fourteen to sixteen hours labor a day was the rule, they would not only not have lost their places, but higher place and higher emolument would have been the more agreeable result. Now, human nature is the same everywhere, and mere change of sky, in latitude and longitude, does not affect the heart. A tyrant under the dog-star tyrannizes under all other stars; a system that begets oppression in one land will beget it in another; and the same obstacle may prevent ready testimony here as abroad, by exciting fears of disemployment if it became known that such testimony has been given. Similar cases in point are on record here at the State House for times past; yet whether this fear operates to a large extent now can be more accurately determined when we examine the replies upon Bureau Blank No. 3, sent to employers, and of which we shall speak more at large in a future part of this document.

We now proceed with an account of the doings of the Bureau, and come to the explanation of our interrogative circulars. And here we take occasion to say that it is not our belief that the cause of labor and of the laborer can be put into such light and view as that its real status can be comprehended, its disease be determined, the right medicine be administered, its health be secured, and its true interests be promoted, by any tabular array of figurate statistics alone. Yet they have their mission and their use. In fact, can they be dispensed with, inasmuch as inferences derived from them can be derived from no other source, and as they are definitely “nominated in the bond” and required by the statute. As facts to be reached by the Bureau we could not ignore them, and they will be hereinafter introduced and commented upon, so far as returns to questions thereupon shall have been received. But upon this point more may be said hereafter. In the meantime, we desire to say, confirmed both by our own experience and that of others, as we know from consultation and from not a limited range of reading and study, that the preparation of questions, and the art of putting them to respondents, have peculiarly delicate and, at times, awkward embarrassments. That eminent French

writer Rousseau says,* that "the art of asking questions is not so easy an art as one may think. It is the art of masters rather than of scholars, and one must have learnt many things to know how to ask about a thing which one does not understand." "The *wise* man knows and *inquires*," says an Indian proverb, "but the ignorant man does not even know how to inquire." To this it may be added, that an ignorant man not seldom makes up his mind in a given matter out of the very few and very feeble materials of his ignorance, and as ignorance and obstinacy are often convertible terms, nothing will induce him to relinquish an opinion once adopted. "A wise man," says another proverb, "sometimes changes his mind, a fool never does." Nor is there any prejudice—which word in its true meaning gives the idea of unfavorable judgment formed in advance—so obstinate and hard to conquer by the truth itself, as the prejudice of ignorance.

To return to the circulars,—they were three in number, of which Nos. 1 and 2 were addressed to employers, and No. 3 to employed. For convenience, No. 1 was arranged in tabular form, and made very general, that it might be used by the largest number of respondents possible, though it was not intended nor expected that each respondent would reply to each question. In their replies each would be guided by the relevancy of the query to his special business. The queries are divided into classes, and numbered from one (1) to forty-one (41) inclusive, nearly every one of which has several subdivisions. The circular is as follows:

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

OFFICE OF BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF LABOR, STATE HOUSE, }
BOSTON, November 10, 1869. }

Blank No. 1, for Employers.

OFFICE No. —. —

[These Blanks, Nos. 1 and 2, for employers, are sent out *post-paid as printed matter*. On their return, with *written* replies, they will be chargeable with *letter* postage. A pre-paid envelope, duly directed, is therefore sent with them, in which please enclose *both blanks*, and return by mail to this office, *within thirty (30) days from date*.]

To —————.

(POSTAL ADDRESS) Mass.

The legislature of 1869 passed the following Resolve providing for the establishment of a Bureau of Statistics on the subject of Labor:—

[Here follows the Resolve, see p. 5.]

* "La Nouvelle Heloise," Vol. IV. let. 2.

To assist in carrying out the purpose for which this Bureau was created, sets of questions, in as general a form as could be well devised, have been prepared, and incorporated into circulars. These documents will be widely spread throughout the Commonwealth; and the information derived therefrom, after they shall have been filled and returned, will form the basis of a report to the legislature of 1870. For many special employments, special circulars will be prepared and issued; and in cases where circulars may not be applicable or convenient, witnesses will be summoned and examined, while other parties, both employer and employed, will be heard.

Replies from you are, of course, expected only so far as the questions in this circular are appropriate to your own peculiar branch of business. Many of the blank spaces, therefore, which may be filled by one party, will be left unfilled by another, and so on. But in all cases, replies are expected to be made full and exhaustive, wherever the questions have manifest relation to the business of the company or individual addressed.

The examining of individual witnesses must, of necessity, be confined to representative persons in the several departments of industrial labor inquired into; since all could not be summoned, nor heard, if summoned. Full and exact answers, therefore, to the questions herewith issued, will abridge and facilitate the labors of the Bureau, and render unnecessary any special summoning of parties to whom these circulars are sent.

HENRY K. OLIVER, *Chief.*

GEO. E. MCNEILL, *Deputy.*

N. B.—To remove any doubt as to the meaning and intent of some of the words employed, the following explanations are made:—

The word "*adult*" means any person above *fifteen* (15) years of age.

The words "*child*" and "*children*" mean any persons *under* fifteen years of age.

The word "*native*," applied to children, means those born of American parents.

The word "*foreign*" applies to any person born of parents *not* American, whether born within or without the United States.

1. Name of establishment.
2. Whether corporate or private.
3. If corporate, give number of shares, par value, and capital.
4. In town of.
5. Article manufactured.
6. Name of resident, agent, or superintendent.
7. His postal address.

- 8 and 9. Date of sending and returning blank.
10. Number of persons employed,—men, women, boys, girls,—native and foreign.
11. Number of children under ten years of age.
12. “ of adults that can read and write.
13. “ of adults that can neither read nor write.
14. “ of children that can read and write.
15. “ of children that can neither read nor write.
16. “ of children that attended day school according to law in 1869.
17. “ of children not so attending.
18. Whether an evening school is kept in your vicinity.
19. If *yes*, number of weeks, evenings per week, hours per evening.
20. Number of persons in your employ attending.
21. Hours of labor per week for adults and for children.
22. Hours of labor on Saturday—on other days.
23. Actual time of starting and stopping motive power.
24. Whether your employes work *extra* time, and what number so work.
25. Time allowed for dinner.
26. Distance of residence of employes not living in your tenements.
27. If you have worked nights, give number of nights, hours per night, adults and children so working, and whether same persons worked by day.
28. Salaries of treasurer, agent, superintendent, paymaster, clerks.
29. Highest and lowest day wages of a man, a woman, and a child in several departments of labor.
30. Highest and lowest actual earnings of same persons in September, 1869.
31. Highest and lowest piece-wages of same persons in September, 1869.
32. Time lost by same persons in September, 1869.
33. Give dimensions, in feet, of your several work-rooms.
34. If during last five years you have run short time, give time, speed run, hours per day, product, number of persons employed, weekly earnings, and piece earnings.
35. Give production on full time for six months.
36. Give number employed in such full time, men, women, children.
37. Rate of speed in full time.
38. Aggregate day wage earnings during such full time for men, women, children.
39. Aggregate piece-work earnings during such full time for men, women, children.
40. If any of your employes are owners of real estate; how many so own; highest and lowest value of houses; number under mortgage; number free from mortgage; greatest and least number of rooms; greatest and least number of persons therein; greatest and least rent value; greatest and least distance from work.
41. If you provide houses for employes; how many; highest and lowest rent; greatest and least number of rooms; greatest and least dimensions of rooms; greatest and least number of persons in family; price of board per week for man, woman, child; percentage of operatives living in such houses.

Blank Circular No. 2 contained eighty-one questions, as follows :—

1. Are your employés of any grade—overseers, or operatives of any rank,—owners of shares, or of stock in your own establishment ?
2. If *yes*, give the greatest and least number of shares owned by any one overseer, and the greatest and least number owned by any one employé, *not an overseer*, and the whole number owned by overseers, and the whole number owned by other employés.
3. Give the department of labor in your establishment in which such owners severally work.
4. What is the par value of each of such shares, and what their market value, at present date, Nov. 1, 1869, and what the average semi-annual profits of the last five years ?
5. Have you ever known instances wherein an ordinary operative earned a competence ? or, was enabled to retire at fifty years of age, on moneys earned as a wage-laborer ?
6. If *yes*, what percentage would the number of employés so earning be of the whole number of your employés ?
7. Have you a store or stores belonging to your establishment, or in any way connected with it, wherein are sold to your employés the ordinary articles of household consumption ?
8. If *yes*, are your employés compelled, either by your rules, or by necessity of remote living from any other store, to purchase thereat such household supplies ? and, are ardent spirits, cider, beer or ale, sold from such store ?
9. What average percentage of profit do you add to the cost of such articles in arranging sales therefrom ?
10. Do you pay your employés in cash, or in orders on such store, or partly in each ?
11. Do your employés, on an average, earn annually any amount of wages over and above their whole amount of indebtedness to you for rent (if you furnish tenements,) and supplies at such store ?
12. How often do you pay off, or settle with, your employés ? What was the number of employés in 1868, and what your total pay for labor in that year ?
13. How much time elapses between the making up of your “time-rolls,” and such paying-off, or settlement ? and is any interest allowed on amount of pay during its detention ?
14. Are your employés consumers, to any amount greater or less, of their products as such employés, and to what extent ?
15. If *yes*, do you sell directly to them, and at what per cent. advance over cost, or must they purchase of dealers, as do outside parties ?
16. Has there been any *general* strike among your employés during five years last past ? and if *yes*, how long did such strike last ?
17. Has there been a strike in the same period in *any* department of your labor ? and if *yes*, in what department, and how long did such strike last ?

18. For what object was such strike made? whether for *increased pay*, or for *shorter time* with same pay?
19. What was the result of such strike?
20. What was the loss of time, and of aggregate earnings, to the parties in such strike?
21. What was the aggregate loss of production to you by such strike?
22. Did such strike affect the market value of your stock?
23. Was there any actual pecuniary loss to you by such strike?
24. Have any of your employés, at any time, been discharged by yourself, or by any superintendent or overseer in your employ, for participating in any strike, or for taking part in any movement known as a *labor movement*? and have you ever refused employment to persons discharged by other employers for such causes?
25. If any employés for *any* cause leave your employment, voluntarily or otherwise, do you, either personally, or by any other party, interpose any obstacle to their procuring employment elsewhere?
26. Have cases of such interposition ever occurred in your establishment?
27. Are your female, or child employés ever required to work extra time, beyond the time declared to be your regular running-time?
28. If *yes*, do such employés receive *extra pay* for such *extra time*, or is such pay above the regular rate?
29. Have you, since the commencement of business at your establishment, ever divided among your employés any percentage of your profits, over and above their ordinary wages?
30. If *yes*, when was it done, and what percentage was so divided, and what was the greatest and least amount received by any employés?
31. Have you, within ten years last past, substituted improved machinery in any department of your labor?
32. If *yes*, did such machinery render valueless, or of less value than before, any kind of skilled labor in such department? or dispense wholly with such labor?
33. Did such machinery enable you to work with a diminished number of employés in such department?
34. If *yes*, what was the diminution, and what was the diminished cost of production in such department?
35. What, also, was the percentage of increased product, and what the percentage of aggregate decreased cost effected?
36. Do you heat the several rooms in which your employés labor, by steam, by furnaces, or by stoves?
37. Do you light those rooms for night-work, by gas, by oil, or by kerosene?
38. Have any accidents occurred from such methods of lighting, or of heating?
39. Have you any means of ventilating these rooms? and is such ventilation carefully attended to, and sufficient?
40. If *yes*, give a brief account of the system on pages 7 and 8.*

* Information of much practical value may be obtained from answers to these questions.

41. Have you ample and sufficient means of escape, both within and outside of your work-buildings, in case of fire ?
42. If *yes*, give a brief account thereof on pages 7 and 8.*
43. Have you ample and sufficient stairways ?
44. Have you ample and sufficient means both within and outside of your work-buildings for extinguishing fires ?
45. If *yes*, give a brief account thereof on pages 7 and 8.*
46. Is your motive-power, and are your wheels and shaftings of all sorts, your belting, and all other means of communicating motion, so secured as to prevent accidents of any kind ?
47. Are your elevators, and hoisting and lowering apparatus, all so arranged as wholly to prevent accidents ?
48. Have accidents, from any cause, occurred in your establishment at any time during five years last past ?
49. If *yes*, from what cause, of what nature, and to what extent ?
50. Was there any actual loss of life from such accidents ?
51. In case of such accident, did you contribute, or do you customarily contribute, to the relief and maintenance of the party injured, by continuing his pay, or otherwise, and to what amount ? or to his funeral expenses, if fatally injured ?
52. In case of stoppage of machinery from causes not within the control of yourself or employes, do you stop *all* wages, or does the pay of salaried officers and overseers continue, and that of employes stop ?
53. When *reduction* of wages takes place from any cause, is there likewise a reduction of pay of overseers, and of salaried officers ?
54. Are there among your employes any associations for mutual relief and assistance in cases of accident or sickness ?
55. If *yes*, is membership compulsory or voluntary on the part of employes ? and what amount of assessment secures their benefit ?
56. Is this assessment paid by each member personally, or do you deduct it from the monthly pay ?
57. If it be so deducted, is the aggregate amount paid over to the treasurer of the relief society, or is it retained at the counting-room till needed ? and if it is so retained, is interest allowed to the society during such retention ?
58. Does the establishment over which you preside contribute to the support of such society ? and if *yes*, to what average annual amount ?
59. Are there among your employes any associations for moral and intellectual improvement, or for wholesome recreation, in the way of lectures, concerts of music, social reunions, &c , &c. ?†

† At the extensive manufacturing establishments of Messrs. Akroyd & Son, situated in Halifax and Copley, Yorkshire, England, there are four schools in large buildings provided by the proprietors of the Mills, with 10 teachers and 24 assistants, having charge of 546 boys, 506 girls, and 268 smaller children of both sexes, a total of 1,320 pupils. There are likewise a "Workmen's College" and a "Female Institute," open five evenings a week for persons employed all day (10 hours), in which instruction is given in reading, writing, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, bookkeeping and singing; the females being also taught needle-work, knitting and general household duties. The average number of pupils is 158 males, and 105 females. A church has been built by Mr.

60. If *yes*, do you bear any part of the expense thereof, and to what average annual amount? Give a brief statement of them on pages 7 and 8.
61. Have you a library belonging to your establishment free to the use of your employés?
62. If *yes*, how many volumes does it contain, what is the average weekly circulation, what expense is levied for its privileges, and what is the average number of readers?
63. Do you provide systematic instruction for young persons entering your employ in the several departments of your business, so that, after a certain length of time, they would become experts therein?
64. If *yes*, how long a time would be necessary to become such expert in ordinary cases?
65. Have you ever had instances thereof? and have you any now, and what pay per week do such learners draw, and what proportion does the actual number of such learners bear to the whole number of skilled workmen employed?
66. If such instruction is given at your establishment, not by yourself personally, but by an expert in your employ who may be at piece-wages, do you compensate such expert for any time he may lose in giving such instruction? or, does he derive any pecuniary benefit from any increased production effected by the learner?
67. Do you promote expert workmen of your own, as overseers of any grade, or do you select them from outside or import them from abroad?
68. In what time will your employés below the grade of overseers, etc., become wholly a new set? or, how frequently do you change a set of employés?
69. What is the average time that a set of machinery appropriate to your special business will last under ordinary care and repairs?
70. What is the average number of years of continuous labor (without vacation) that can be endured by your employés in the several department without breaking down, laboring *twelve* hours per day? What length of time laboring *eleven*? and what laboring *ten* hours per day?
71. Can you give the average length of the working-life of factory operatives? or the probable number of years that an operative entering a mill at ten years of age and working say, eleven hours a day, would live?
72. What, in your opinion, would be the effect of a diminution of the hours of labor? Reply on page 7 or 8.

Akroyd, free to all who choose to attend. He also pays the principal expense of the following institutions: A Literary and Scientific Society, having a Museum and Library; a Mutual Improvement Society for reading and discussion; a Library of 5,000 volumes (here fifty cents per annum is charged); a Workingmen's Club, with rooms, having the daily papers and leading periodicals, and furnished with means for innocent games,—chess, chequers, bagatelle, &c.; a Choral Society, having a Library of Music; a Recreation Club, having for a small fee the use of a bowling-green, cricket-ground, quoits and gymnastic apparatus; a Horticultural Society, having the use of a large field, divided into garden-plots for the use of operatives. An annual show of flowers, &c., is held, with premiums for the best, given by Mr. Akroyd.

73. If favorable yourself to such diminution, what cause or causes prevent your making such reduction?
74. Does your special business act favorably or unfavorably upon the general health of your employés?
75. If it acts unfavorably, state in what respect, to what extent, and what is the nature of the special ill-health or disease it causes.
76. What is the greatest, and what is the least length of time, that an employé of your own has been known to withstand such unfavorable influence without relinquishing work in consequence thereof?
77. What proportion of your employés are persons of wholly temperate habits, and what proportion are not so?
78. What proportion of your employés do *not* return to their homes to dine, but bring their dinners with them, and dine on your premises?
79. If such cases occur with you, do you provide a room wherein they may dine?
80. What effect have *changes of fashion* had upon your special business within the past ten years?
81. Send copies of all your rules and regulations.

Of the above circulars (Nos. 1 and 2) to employers, 1,248 were sent out to employers representing every department of labor, as reported to us by the assessors. We regret exceedingly to have to state that the number of *employers* replying was very limited. In most instances the documents have not been returned at all, in others they have been returned as blank as they were sent; in others very few answers, and those upon the least important queries, were given; in others replies were declined altogether. Reference to Table No. 1 will show these facts. Not more than twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) of those sent out came back with any replies, and these generally were curt and unsatisfactory. This result convinces us, if conviction were needed, that the remark in the Report on Factory Children (Sen. Doc. No 44, 1869, p. 13) is rigidly true, that "compulsory legislation alone, with penalty for refusal, will secure replies to such questions;" and that inasmuch as to procure them may, in some cases, be difficult and troublesome, the duty should be confided to parties detailed under statute, and when that is done, information upon the condition—moral, intellectual, and we add physical condition—of the operative classes, (the real producers of wealth,) their wages and earnings, their homes, food, manner of life, as exact as that secured in England, under a system of inspection created by Parliament, may be likewise secured here, and it is certain, unless

we are willing to encounter irremediable evils, that such legislation must be had at an early day. The causes which have brought about the manifest and acknowledged low condition, the positive poverty of the actual creators of wealth—a wealth mainly possessed and enjoyed by those who did not, and who do not manually generate it—these causes must be searched out, must be exposed, must be remedied, or there will succeed, as an inevitable result, as surely as that darkness comes after the setting sun on a moonless night, a gradual deterioration of the producing capacity of the laboring classes, and, therefore, a gradual diminution of wealth.

It has been given in testimony here by a manufacturing overseer of more than 30 years' experience, and of extensive travel and observation, here and abroad, that this exhaustive process has been going on so long in England, that he believes that for a given lot of machinery, more hands would be required there to run it, than would be required were the same machinery here in an American mill with American operatives. If that be true, (we give it as testimony, not as opinion from experience of our own,) and if there grow up here, by the spread and continuance of the family system of operatives which tends to make factory labor hereditary, a race like the operative race of England, then ours will become more and more degraded, and less and less productive, and the sayings of the Latin poet Horace will be verified, that "the fathers,—a race worse than their fathers,—made us a race worse than themselves, we, in our turn, to generate a race still worse."*

(The information and opinions given in the few returns received, will be found in the latter pages of this Report.)

Returning again from digression we proceed to speak of Circular No. 3, addressed to employés, the actual toilers in the domains of industrial labor.

We entered upon the preparation of this blank after much reading, study, and inquiry, after careful thought and well-considered consultation with working men in various departments of labor, from whom many questions of practical utility, and valuable suggestions in relation to the whole document were received.

* "*Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosiore.*" *Hor. Od. Lib. III. Od. VI.*

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

OFFICE OF BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF LABOR, STATE HOUSE, }
 BOSTON, December 10, 1869. }

Blank No. 3, for Employés.

OFFICE No. —. —

[This Blank, for employés, is sent out *post-paid* as *printed matter*. On its return, with *written* replies, it will be chargeable with *letter* postage. A prepaid envelope, duly directed, is therefore sent with it, in which please enclose the blank, and return by mail to this office, *within thirty (30) days from date*.]

To ———.

(TOWN) Mass.

The legislature of 1869 passed the following Resolve providing for the establishment of a Bureau of Statistics on the subject of Labor:—

[Here follows the Resolve, see p. 5.]

To carry out the purpose for which this Bureau was created, it becomes necessary to ascertain, with a good degree of minuteness, very many actual facts with regard to the daily-life experience of the working men and working women of Massachusetts, in an extensive variety of employments. This blank is necessarily of a general nature, and has been made to embrace, as far as possible, every department of labor in the State, with the hope of learning the real working and home-life of our people. The inquiries are made *with no intention of searching into your private affairs, from motives of mere curiosity*, but for the purpose of gathering statistics upon the great question of Labor, the leading question now agitating the civilized world. Unless you choose, your name will not be used in any report that may grow out of facts thus gathered up; but it is quite necessary that you should state the *branch of business—manufacturing, mechanical, agricultural, or other*,—in which you may be engaged, *with its locality*, and your own *place of residence*.

Please fill *all the blanks*, as fully and accurately as possible; since the more complete the replies given to the inquiries of the Bureau, the more exact and minute will be its Report to the legislature, and the more certain and beneficial the results that will follow.

Inclosed is a stamped envelope for your reply.

Respectfully yours,

HENRY K. OLIVER, *Chief*.
 GEO. E. MCNEILL, *Deputy*.

1. Name.
2. Residence.
3. Age.
4. Nationality.
5. By whom employed.
6. Employment.

7. Number of years so employed.
8. Married or single.
9. If married, number in family.
10. If single, price of board per week.
11. Hours of labor per week.
12. Whether day-wages, or piece-work.
13. Whether paid in cash or store orders.
14. On what day paid.
15. Weekly amount kept back by employer.
16. Actual earnings per day.
17. Average earnings per week.
18. If you know your actual earnings in 1869, give them.
19. If not, give estimated earnings during 1869.
20. If you lost any time in 1869, fill blanks *a* to *f* inclusive. *a*, No. days lost, ; *b*, No. lost by weather, ; *c*, No. lost by sickness, ;
d, No. lost by recreation, ; *e*, No. lost by lack of work, ;
f, No. lost by other causes, .
21. Total earnings for five years last past.
22. Average annual earnings.
23. Actual savings in said five years.
24. Actual earnings in 1869.
25. Actual savings in 1869.
26. How are such savings invested ?
27. Give actual (if kept)—if not, estimated,—expenses for past year, in blanks from *a* to *m* inclusive. *a*, Cost of groceries, ; *b*, Cost of meat with vegetables, ; *c*, Rent, ; *d*, Fuel, ; *e*, Light, ;
f, Clothing, ; *g*, Furniture, ; *h*, Sickness, ; *i*, Education, including books and stationery, ; *j*, Recreation, ; *k*, Charity, *l*, Religion, ; *m*, Sundries, .
28. Hours of labor, meals and sleep, during the year. *a*, Rise, summer ; winter, ; *b*, Breakfast, summer, ; winter, ;
c, Start for work, summer, ; winter, ; *d*, Hours of work, A. M., summer, ; winter, ; *e*, Hour of dinner, ; *f*, Time allowed for dinner, ; *g*, Whether you dine at home, or carry your dinner, ; *h*, Hours of work, P. M., summer, ; winter, ;
i, Hours of supper, summer, ; winter, ; *j*, Hours of retiring, summer, ; winter, ; *k*, Hour of closing work on Saturday, ; *l*, Compulsory hours of over-work, summer, ; winter, .
29. If your wife and child, or children, are at work, fill blanks from *a* to *e* inclusive. *a*, In what employment, wife, ; children, ;
b, Hours of labor per week, wife, ; children, ; *c*, Amount of earnings per week, wife, ; children, ; *d*, Average annual earnings, wife, ; children, ; *e*, No. of days of schooling of children in 1869, by each boy, ; by each girl, .
30. If you keep house, fill blanks from *a* to *f* inclusive. *a*, No. of rooms you occupy, ; *b*, Largest room, length, ; width, ; height, ;
c, Smallest room, length, ; width, ; height, ; *d*, Parlor, length, ; width, ; height, ; *e*, Kitchen, length, ; width, ; height, ; *f*, Cellar, length, ; width, ; height, .

31. Do you own the house and land you now occupy?
32. If *yes*, did you pay therefor from your wages, and how long were you in earning the purchase money?
33. Are you owner of *any* real estate?
34. If *yes*, where is it, and what is its assessed value?
35. Do you own such real estate clear of mortgage? if *not*, what is the amount still due thereon, and what are the interest and conditions of the mortgage note?
36. Is said estate under mortgage to Savings Bank, or to a private party?
37. If you hire a house, or hire rooms, what is the name of the owner thereof, what the name of his letting-agent, (if there be one,) and their residences?
38. If you hire rooms, and not a whole house, how many rooms do you hire, and how are they situated?
39. How many rooms are there in the whole house, how many families, and how many persons?
40. Have you any privileges in the yard of such house, or in the shed thereof, (if there be any,) and in the cellar?
41. What are the lengths and widths of such yard and shed, and height of such cellar?
42. Are these premises wet, or dry, in ordinary weather?
43. Has the house sufficient drainage? or is the waste of the house thrown into the street, or upon the grounds near by?
44. Is the house suitably provided with any modern conveniences?
45. What is the sanitary condition of its neighborhood; that is, is it healthful or unhealthful?
46. If unhealthful, name the special diseases, and the causes thereof, if you know them.
47. How is the house supplied with *water*?
48. Do you purchase your fuel in small quantities from time to time, or do you lay in a full supply for the season? and where is such fuel kept?
49. Do you pay *cash* for your household supplies, or have you what is called a *store account*, and how frequently has such store account to be settled?
50. How far is your home from your usual place of work, and what does it cost you per day to go to and from work?
51. How much time is consumed each day in going to and from your work?
52. Do you regularly take any newspaper or other periodical, and have you time after work for reading?
53. Have you time, at any season of the year, either *before* or *after* work, for any recreative employments or amusements whatever?
54. What recreations or amusements, if any, so far as you know, do working-men or working-women prefer and patronize?
55. Are there any provisions connected with the establishment wherein you work for mental culture or social recreation of any sort, such as a library, reading-room, or literary society; or for music or other proper amusement?
56. If *yes*, are they managed by the employers or by the employed?

57. Are the attendant expenses paid by the employers or the employed, or partly by each?
58. How many persons are employed by your present employer, and how many in the room in which you work, if you work within doors?
59. What is the length, width, and height of such room?
60. How is it heated, how lighted, and, if ventilated, by what means?
61. Have you convenient and proper accommodations of every sort, at, or near your workroom?
62. Has any accident ever occurred in or about your working-place, either from the heating or lighting apparatus?
63. If *yes*, was it attended with loss of life, or injury of any sort, and to what extent?
64. Are there ample means of escape from your workshop, or work-room, in case of fire?
65. Are the stairways ample and sufficient, and do the doors open *out*?
66. To what accidents is your business specially exposed, and how may they be prevented?
67. Has any accident of any sort occurred at your place of work within the past three years?
68. If *yes*, describe it, and state its nature and results, and whether fatal or not.
69. In case of accident, does your employer customarily contribute to the relief and maintenance of the party injured, by continuing his pay, or otherwise, and to what amount? or to his funeral expenses, if fatally injured?
70. Do you continue in one position at your regular employment, and what is such position; and does your work require the same position during all your work hours?
71. Has any physical injury resulted to you from such working posture?
72. Are there any diseases incident upon your special employment, and, if *yes*, what are they?
73. Can you tell what is the average length of the life of a person employed in your special labor?
74. How did you acquire a knowledge of your present trade or employment? whether by serving an apprenticeship, or by what other means; and do you teach your sons (if any) the same trade, or desire them to follow it?
75. What expenses, such as cost of tools, &c., &c., are necessarily incident to your trade?
76. If the work you are employed on is such that you take it from the employer's general place of business to your own home, to be there finished, and then returned, how frequently do you so take it, and what kind of work is it?
77. Do your wife and children assist in finishing up the work, and what are the ages of children so working, and how many hours per day and per week do they work?
78. What is the rate of pay therefor?

79. At whose risk are the materials for the work, when at your home, if lost or injured from any cause?
80. Has new machinery, appropriate to your business, been introduced by your employer within ten years last past?
81. If *yes*, to what extent has it diminished the number of employés?
82. Has it rendered skilled labor of less value, or wholly valueless? or has it made it difficult or impracticable for persons in your department of labor, to go into business on their own account?
83. What is the actual, or estimated saving in cost effected thereby?
84. How did it affect the amount of production and cost of producing?
85. Has the division of labor, consequent upon the introduction of new machinery, rendered your work more tedious and monotonous?
86. Have you ever known long continued or monotonous labor, by day or by night, or by both, to affect the health of the brain?
87. Does your work exercise, to any extent, the higher faculties of your mind?
88. What effect have changes of fashion had upon your business within ten or fifteen years?
89. Have any old trades, to your knowledge, died out in your town? and, if any, from what cause, or causes? and what were such trades?
90. Have any new trades sprung up within twenty years last past? and what are they? and when did they commence?
91. Have you ever been engaged in any strike?
92. If *yes*, was the object thereof for increase of wages, or for shorter time? and did you engage therein *voluntarily*, or compelled by surrounding circumstances? Write particulars on page 7 or 8.
93. How long did such strike continue?
94. What were its results?
95. How much time did you lose? and what was your loss in earnings?
96. If you depend on your daily earnings for your daily support, how was you supported during such strike? If supported by a Trades-Union, to what extent?
97. Can you give the loss, or estimated loss, to your employer by such strike?
98. Have you yourself ever been discharged for participation in a strike, or in any labor reform movement, or have you known any workmen to be discharged for such causes?
99. Has your employer ever interfered, directly or indirectly, to prevent your procuring employment elsewhere, whether you left him by discharge or by your own act?
100. Are you a member of any Trades-Union, or Working-men's or Working-women's Society? and what are the attendant annual expenses to you?
101. If *yes*, has its influence reduced your hours of labor, increased your earnings, made you more skillful and useful in your work, or profited you educationally, morally, or socially, and how has it affected the habits of members in regard to temperance? Write particulars on page 7 or 8.
102. Send a copy of its Constitution, By-Laws, and Regulations.

103. Have you ever worked more hours per day than you now work? If *yes*, give the number of such longer hours, and the date when.
104. What effect had such longer time upon your own health, and upon the general condition of your fellow-workers? Write particulars on page 7 or 8.
105. What has been the influence of shortened time upon your earnings?
106. What has been its influence upon the habits and customs, and the general condition, moral, mental, and physical, of your fellow-workers, and of yourself? Write particulars on page 7 or 8.
107. If beneficial, would a further reduction, in your opinion, produce similar beneficial results?
108. What proportion of working people, so far as you may have had occasion to know, are in debt?
109. What, in your knowledge or judgment, were the cause or causes of such debt?
110. Have you ever known industrious and temperate workmen to have been, from want of work, or any other cause, in actual distress?
111. If *yes*, was it to such extent as to require aid from friends, or from some society to which they may belong?
112. If *yes*, to what extent, when, and from what cause?
113. Have your present earnings and present cost of living each increased in the same proportion to what they were before the late war, or has the cost of living increased in a greater ratio?
114. Give the highest, the lowest, and the average day-wages of workmen in your trade in your vicinity, for 1861 and 1869.
115. So far as your own observation goes, are the working-people of your town habitual attendants on public worship? and do their children habitually attend Sunday schools?
116. If not habitual attendants thereon, state the cause thereof, so far as you are able, and state in what manner their Sundays are spent.
117. Is there in your neighborhood, at convenient distance, any room or rooms, open during the evening, for mutual instruction, or for recreation?
118. Have there ever been coöperative associations in your town?
119. If *yes*, how many? When did they start? Are any in existence now? and, if any have ended, when did they close up? and for what cause or causes? Give particulars on page 7 or 8.
120. Can you ascertain and report to the Bureau the number of depositors in your nearest Savings Bank, who are themselves actual working-men, or working-women?
121. What is the comparative condition of such depositors as to intelligence, education, social habits and home-life? Give particulars on page 7 and 8.
122. Do you own any shares in, and are you, to any great extent, a consumer of the article or articles manufactured at the establishment where you are employed? and if *yes*, are such articles sold you at the said establishment, and at a reduced price?

123. Is it usual for employés to own any *stock* or shares in the establishments wherein they are employed?
124. Has there ever, to your knowledge, been divided among the employés at your establishment, or at any other where you have worked, any portion of the profits from sales of their products?
125. If *yes*, give the date thereof, the amount so divided, and its percentage of the whole annual profit.
126. What was the amount allotted to you?
127. Is such division, if any, a customary thing in your establishment, or in any within your knowledge?
128. How many boys and how many girls between 10 and 15 years of age, and how many under 10 years, are employed in the establishment where you work? or do you know of such children being employed in any establishment in your vicinity?
129. How many hours per day, and how many hours per week, are such children employed? and have they ever been employed in *night work*? and if they have, between what hours, and had they food, or any rest, during that time?
130. If you work in a factory, how many miles per day do such children have to walk in tending the machine at which they work? and how great is your own daily walk in tending your machine?
131. Do you know of any instances wherein such children have suffered corporal chastisement for any cause? and if *yes*, by whom was such chastisement inflicted, and for what cause?
132. Have the children in said factory had, during the year 1869, the legal day schooling of sixty (60) consecutive whole days, or of one hundred and twenty (120) consecutive half days?
133. If *no*, please ascertain and give the names and ages of such children,—the names and residences of their parents, and the name and residence of the person for whom these children worked? Give them on page 7 or 8.
134. What influence, in your opinion, has factory work upon the health and habits of children and young women? and say whether it disqualifies the latter, or not, for household duties.
135. How long, in your judgment, does the same set of employés work for the same employer in your special trade without change?
136. Did you ever know an instance of a workman (other than an overseer,) working at ordinary day-wages, or at piece-work pay, who acquired a competence upon which he could live without work? and, if *yes*, in how many years did he acquire such competence?
137. What are the rules relating to *apprentices*, if there be any, in your trade?

NOTE 1. If any of these questions are not applicable to your own special employment, no answer will be expected thereto from yourself, but you may be able to obtain an answer from some fellow-workman or workwoman. Parties desiring to be heard on any matters connected with the general

subject, are requested to inform the Bureau, and a time therefor will be arranged.

NOTE 2. Please write your *full address* (name, residence, and Post-Office) at the top of page 1, on the lines under the State Seal. It was omitted by us, in order to keep the out-postage of this document within that of printed matter. The return postage will be letter postage, for which the pre-paid envelope is enclosed.

Concerning this third blank we desire to say, at the outset, that not a little difficulty was met in our endeavors to send it to workmen of various classes in different parts of the State. Some names were obtained from parties who had seen our general advertisement, and replied to it. Others were had by writing to working men and requesting lists; others, by inquiring of parties interested in the question of labor, but not themselves wage-laborers. Naturally, the persons thus reported would be of the more advanced and reflecting class, and, in fact, in any case these would be about the only persons from whom response could be expected, as others might neither have seen the newspaper circular, nor have been educationally able to reply thereto. These must be examined orally, at interviews. An outside person can hardly measure the strength of this difficulty, yet it will gradually disappear with the longer and larger experience of the Bureau.

We desire further to state that while preparing this blank, we were aware that some of those to whom it was addressed might, on receiving and examining it, feel that it was an unwarranted and intrusive searching into private matters, and therefore one that ought not by response to be greeted with any seeming welcome. To this we make reference in the introduction to the queries, and we desire here further to state, that the object to be gained, and which, under the statute, we were directed to gain, namely, the actual condition of the working classes, demanded a series of questions; for how else could we attain a knowledge of the "moral, social, educational and sanitary condition" of the working people? How else, but by inquiries, could we learn and report about their hours of labor, their wages, their average earnings, the mode of payment, their annual cost of living, the conveniences or inconveniences of their places of daily work (dimensions of rooms, ventilation, heating, &c.); their means of moral and mental improvement;

their homes and surroundings ; their home life and recreations ; their habits of temperance or otherwise, &c., &c., adding to these the influence of short time upon the interests of employer and employed, and upon the whole condition of the latter ?

“To know” is the child of “to inquire,” and we found ample precedent for inquiring, and for very minute inquiring, in the numerous publications printed in England, both parliamentary and private, on the subject of labor and the condition of the laboring classes. These date back as far as the year 1524, and they have been increasing in number from that date to this. In a work now before us, entitled “The State of the Poor,” or “A History of the Laboring Classes in England, from the Conquest to the present period,” London, 1797, 3 vols. 4to (2,000 pp.), by Sir Frederic Morton Eden, Bart., is particularly considered their domestic economy with respect to diet, dress, fuel, and habitation. The same work contains, also, a comparative and chronological table of the prices of labor, provisions, and other commodities, and with an appendix giving a list of no fewer than 270 works on the same or kindred subjects.

We find that the same difficulties encountered by us, were encountered by the author of this valuable work, for he says : “It is hardly possible to form an accurate judgment of the condition of the laboring classes in any district in the kingdom, without first knowing what a laboring man can earn, and how much of the necessities of life he can purchase by his earnings ;” and he adds that “some men are so habitually careless that they are totally unable to give any satisfactory information ; others, who could give tolerable answers, think that inquiries concerning them can have no important object in view, and therefore they are inaccurate” (in their replies) ; “and a third class, which is by far the most numerous, are so apprehensive that the ultimate object of questioning them is to effect a reduction in their wages, or something equally disagreeable, that they are unchangeably mysterious and insincere.”

It may here be incidentally observed, that the questions propounded by Sir Frederic, in his researches, were *oral*, the parties being face to face, and therefore there was opportunity of evasion, or insincerity, or of holding back the truth if the respondents feared that truthful replies might forfeit employment ; while our questions were given in *printed* circulars, and

time for careful consideration was allowed. They, therefore, who did reply, and they were thirty-three per cent. (33 per cent) of the whole number addressed, have undoubtedly replied candidly and truthfully, while those who have not, were actuated in part, perhaps, by similar motives, in part by the want of the necessary preliminary education, (the answers were to be in writing,) in part by the fact that fatiguing manual labor long continued unfits one for the labor of the pen, and renders him inexpert at expressing his thoughts on paper. Doubtless the fear, also, here impedes, that he may lose employment if it be known that he has replied to any interrogatories on the subject. In several cases of oral testimony, the witnesses distinctly declared that they would lose employment, not only at present place, but elsewhere, if it were known that they had testified, as their names would be sent from place to place. And this was also the case with parties who gave written testimony. Says one: "Please promise me that you will not make my name public, because the corporations are watching the actions of their help with jealous eyes, and will discharge any person they may find divulging anything not for their interest to be known." These persons are mostly from the Factory Operative Class.

In the interim between the sending out of these circulars and their return, the time of the Bureau was occupied in the oral examination of witnesses, some of whom were summoned by us, and some requested that they might be called on to testify. Limited time prevented our making extensive progress in this specialty, but we hope and intend to proceed much farther during the present year, and to embody our researches in our next report. The testimony now obtained will be found in another part of this document, as will that obtained from Circulars Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

The "social and sanitary condition" of a people, or of a class of people, is disclosed, and pretty thoroughly illustrated by its homes. The Resolve creating the Bureau directed it to present, in reports to the legislature, information upon the "relation of labor to the social and sanitary condition of the laboring classes," that is, as we interpret it, we were to inquire into the social or home-life, and into the sanitary or health-condition of the laboring classes; we were to inquire as to where and how

they live, these points clearly indicating their social condition, and intensely affecting their sanitary condition. Besides, had no such expressions existed in the statute, our attention would have obviously been drawn thereto, by the very nature of the subject; for any reader of works upon the exhaustless themes of labor and laborers, will find in every book he may consult thereon, constant reference to home-life, and a very thorough discussion of it. It was reflection upon this department that heretofore had moved beneficent citizens of Boston, whose wealth had not paralyzed their sympathies, nor killed their compassions, to erect systems of model houses in that city,—and it was the same thought that prompted the great philanthropist* of the age, whose death drapes the civilized world in mourning, and whose honored remains nations escort to their final resting-place, to devote much of his large wealth to the providing of homes for the poor of the great city wherein that wealth was accumulated, model-tenements, aptly so called, and in welcome and refreshing contrast with the abominable dens which we shall hereinafter specialize, and which, we regret to say, are owned and used as investments by persons whose social position should teach them to revolt at such ownership with a sort of moral shudder. Under influence of these considerations, we then visited several tenement and model lodging-houses in Boston, of which we shall speak in detail hereafter, our object being now merely to give a connected historical sketch of the doings of the Bureau. These visits, with some additional examinations of witnesses, brought us up to the commencement of the preparation of this document.

And at this point, with these visits returning freshly to our memories, and renewing the recollection of the dreadful pictures which some of them (the tenement houses,) exhibited, of want and degradation, we shudder, as we did then, and tremble at the indications they gave of the rapid approach of our laborers to the condition of their fellow-laborers in London, so graphically described in George Goldwin's "London Shadows," † so clearly set forth in a later work, "London Labor and London Poor," by Henry Mayo, and in a still later work, "The Seven

* George Peabody.

† "London Shadows; or, A Glance at the Homes of the Thousands," by George Goldwin, F. R. S., London.

Curses of London,"—a condition uttering, in its awful revelations of the present, omens of fearful import for the future ; for it cannot be denied that Boston is close upon the heels of New York, New York is on a nearly even race with London, and London not a whit behind Paris in the career of poverty, profligacy and crime ;—a consideration truly fearful, yet not to be contravened, for looking which ever way we may, either through the records of history, or the written or unwritten facts of the present, the same unwelcome and depressing sight shocks the eye and afflicts the heart, of the poverty, and all but pauperism, of large numbers of the laboring classes.

The Bureau has been in existence about seven months, and its obligations, both under the statute creating it, and inferential therefrom, have been of extreme pressure. Its first work, as the words of the Resolves declared, was the gathering of actual information upon actual facts, and this object seemed attainable only by interrogation. The consequent preparation of questions was a matter requiring much and careful thought, and frequent and free communing with parties who had already devoted thought to the general subject. Two parties were to be addressed, and the nature and general scope of the questions were to vary accordingly. When prepared and in manuscript, the necessary printing was a slow process because of the tabular forms necessary, and it was not until in early November, that Blanks No. 1 and 2, for employers, could be mailed, nor till early December, that Blank No. 3, for employés, could be forwarded. The vast extent of the field to be examined, and the brevity of time we have thus far had, have limited our examination, and so limited the information we are enabled to give. Subjects of the deepest interest yet remain, such as the consideration of poverty, its causes, and the proper steps towards its abolition ; the influence of the long established system of wage-labor ; strikes, their causes, intents, results and remedies ; trades-unions, their power and influence, their successes, or otherwise, and the causes thereof ; woman's labor and wages, the homes and surroundings of working-women, the fearful realities of compulsory vice, its causes and remedies ; and here the Bureau will need the intelligent and most valuable, in fact, the indispensable aid and suggestions of some of their own sex, of such women, for instance, as have already examined the

difficult problem of this department of labor, and who alone can do it with the desired particularity and thoroughness.

The subject of Saving Institutions must also be examined, their methods of receipts and investments, their influences and results, and to what extent their benefits accrue to those whose savings constitute the capital stock of such institutions, and to the laboring classes generally. So, too, there must be a full examination into the question of coöperative labor, in every phase of its development, from the simple system of "share and share," adopted by our fathers in the cod and mackerel fisheries, in early colonial times, two hundred and fifty years ago, and its permanent and harmonious working to the present day, up through the coöperative system of the republican form of government under which we live, to its full and fragrant flowering out in every department of industry.

The department of our agricultural labor and laborers, of which but little is known, and which has already received some attention from us, must be thoroughly examined. Very great changes have taken place herein since this century opened. The whole manner of farm life and labor is altered, and, as in manufactures, the foreign element has taken the place of the native, and the "hired man" is now but seldom the son of the farmer's neighbor, the young man, in the olden time, not unfrequently becoming his employer's son-in-law and successor. That good old race, and that good old fashion seem to have passed away, to a very large extent, partly from emigration to the more productive soils of the West, partly to the cities, where an easier life and more rapid accumulations are expected, and partly from a very general change of views of farming and the farm life. Another noticeable fact should be mentioned, and that is, that larger farms are more common than of old, and that foreigners, especially the Irish and Nova Scotians who come with some means, do not linger about the cities, but go directly into the country, and after awhile, buy land and settle down as farmers, especially where, from local causes, land may be had at comparatively low cost. A rich and most important field of inquiry is here opened, for vast interests depend upon the question of agriculture in the Commonwealth.

So, too, must the Bureau most heedfully examine and consider all the arguments in the matter of the reduction of the

hours of daily labor, a subject of unspeakable importance to the whole organization of society, and to the interests of both capital and labor, and in which their antagonism of views is more marked than in any department of the question, the one side reasoning, though precedent does not support them, that such reduction will be followed by a nearly equal reduction in product; that it will increase cost, prove disastrous to enterprise, and demoralize the workman; and the other claiming that product and consumption will both be increased, and cost and waste both diminished;—alleging also, that the present argument against reduction is a repetition of the old argument against a change from sixteen and fourteen hours to twelve, and from twelve to ten; that facts are against the theory, inasmuch as reduced time, wherever it has been fully tried, has reduced cost and waste, and increased product, earnings and consumption, and so far from demoralizing the workman, has improved his educational and moral status, and more than any other measure, made him better in society and society the better for him. They claim furthermore that this subject is interwoven with the subject of the unequal distribution of wealth, and underlies the facts of poverty and pauperism; and, in fact, that by increasing wages, even with the result of decreasing profits, and so preventing the accumulation of vast properties, it will effect a more equal distribution of profits and of wealth, and gradually and quietly bring the two parties in harmony on the just ground of coöperation.

This vastly suggestive question must receive the attention of the Bureau, in full proportion to its importance; and it ought not to be winked out of sight that vast results hang upon its issue.

To the satisfactory examination into all these great and grave matters, and for a reconnoitring of its almost limitless field of research, the Bureau will need an organized and efficient body of investigation to canvass the entire State, and gather up detailed statistics and positive facts, with the thoroughness and accuracy with which the same work has been characterized by parliamentary commissions in England. We venture to predict that, when this shall have been done, and the information therefrom been laid before the legislature and the public, a cry of mingled surprise, shame, and indignation will arise that will demand an entire change of the methods of earnings and pay, yet

by wise and sure means ;—a reduction of time devoted to physical toil, and an increase of time for higher ends, resulting in increased health of body and mind, increased capacity to produce, increased production of better articles, increased cheapness of products and increased consumption, with a vastly diminished waste of material in all productive occupations.

Feeling that this Report, far more scanty in its details and imperfect in its material than we desire, must, in its nature, be preliminary to other reports, more minute, elaborate and satisfactory, it seemed to us advisable to look over the results of former inquiry, that, looking at old causes and effects, old methods and their results,—errors, if any were found, might be studied and avoided ; that successful legislation might be adopted, and, if possible, improved. Labor in this country, has not, until recently, come prominently into public sight and discussion. In England, on the contrary, it has, for years, invoked the attention and awakened the anxious solicitude and thoughtful consideration of social economists, legislators, employers, and of the laborers themselves ; and among the ranks of the last-named have been found men of rare endowments and admirable capacity. We therefore, yet with a brevity unsatisfactory to ourselves, attempt a History of Labor and its attendant legislative necessities, going, of course, to the mother country for our starting point.

LABOR AND ITS ATTENDANT LEGISLATION.

Taking the beginning of the fourteenth century as a starting point, (the reign of Edward II.,) we find England in a state of positive barbarism. The whole landed property was in the possession of great lords, who had at their command retinues of men whom they controlled with unquestioned power, using them as they saw fit, either as farmers or as fighters. In fact, the kingdom, though nominally under one king, was really subdivided into many petty kingdoms, each with its own petty king. Like Ancient Greece, it was divided in itself, and not seldom against itself, each kingling fighting his rival,—while it was, too, as unlike our United States, as possible, for no common constitution bound each State to the other, and all into one whole, “like the waves many, and like the ocean one.” There was no learning, little commerce, no practical arts, no

religion, save that of ceremonial forms; but ignorance, folly, superstition, oppression, slavery, tyranny held unresisted sway; while sedition, turbulence, violence, crime, disease and famine stalked in deadly carnival all over the land. "Darkness covered the earth and gross darkness the people."

In the preceding reign (Edward I.) a statute declared that "from day to day, robberies, murders, burnings and thefts be more often used than they have been heretofore," and it was therefore ordered that "every hundred* should be answerable for all robberies committed therein; that the gates of all walled towns should be shut from sun-setting to sun-rising; that hosts shall be answerable for all guests lodging with them, and that every stranger found in the streets at night should be apprehended by the watch. Every highway from town to town was to be cleared for two hundred feet on each side,† and every man was to provide himself with armor and arms." All this indicates a state of society in which crime defies law, and no man has any feeling of security, or freedom of action. Highway robbery was a sort of national crime, little checked by frequency of capital punishment, while the "bold outlaws" of the day were not only sheltered by the people, but, like some of their betters, shielded because of a few generous deeds, from the just punishment due to their crimes.

Now, that in such a state of society slavery should exist, no one can marvel, and this slavery was that known in history as *villenage*, the bondmen being known under the name of *villeins*, the serfs or peasants attached to the *villa* or baronial manor of the feudal lord, with no power of removing from the estate whereon they were born, and transferable with the land on every change of owner, their persons and their service exactly as the purchased stock, and no more removable on sale than the trees and shrubs that grew thereon. Yet, it must be noted, they could not be sold *away* from the manor, and in this privilege, for such it was, they differed from another class of bondmen known as *theowe*, or thrælmén, the most numerous, who were persons convicted of crimes, or prisoners captured in war, or their descendants. These were bought and sold, and disposed of in wills, and might be put into confinement, scourged, or branded like cattle, each owner thus knowing his own teams

* A division of a county.

† Of brushwood, wherein robbers might lurk.

of men, horses, or oxen ; or they might be compelled to wear round the neck a collar with the owner's name thereon.* But although this was the general condition of the bondmen, there had gradually arisen, as result of partial manumission by the masters, from the slavish service of unconditional dependence and forced labor, a new order of men, a sort of middle class, taking position between positive slavery and incipient freedom, who, although they could not control their own labor, were not yet wholly bound to an owner, being compelled to yield him service, as a general rule, only at sowing-time and harvest. As early as 1257, it was the custom to pay them wages if employed before midsummer ; and in the time of Edward I. (Longshanks, 1272-1307,) they had the privilege of furnishing substitutes. Sometimes they would evade even this, and escaping from the manors to which they owed partial labor, they wandered from place to place, subsisting on alms, or procuring occasional pennies by any chance work or small thievery. This is shown by the statute of 1349, which enacted that, "because many valiant beggars, as long as they may live of begging, do refuse to labor, giving themselves to idleness and vice, and sometimes to theft and other abominations—none, upon pain of imprisonment, shall, under the color of pity or alms, give anything to such as may be compelled to labor for their necessary living." Further indication of the same appears in the "Statute of the Laborers" passed in 1350, which declares that "because a great part of the people, especially of the work-people and servants, had lately (1349,) died of the pestilence, many of them, seeing the necessities of the masters, and great scarcity of servants, will not serve unless they may receive excessive wages, and some are rather willing to beg in idleness, than by labor, to get their living." It then proceeds to specify those persons who shall be bound to serve at fixed rates of wages, being "every man and woman of our realm of England, of whatever condition, *be he free or bond*, and within the age of threescore years, not living by merchandise, nor exercising any craft, nor having anything of his own whereby he may live, nor proper land (his own,) about whose tillage he may occupy himself, and not serving any other person." Here, it will be observed, is a recognition of a class of laborers who were not full bondmen, and it included a

* See opening chapter of "Ivanhoe."

large number of persons in every branch of work carried on in both town and country.

It may be observed here that the pay of laborers whose service was partial, as at sowing or reaping time, was sometimes in money (at about 2*d.* a day), and sometimes partly in money and partly in food; but this food does not seem to have been very costly nor very nutritive, it consisting principally of herrings, beer, and bread, excepting at close of harvest—*harvest-home*, when a bite of mutton and a nibble of cheese enriched the feast. And every reader of such English history as makes any reference to the condition of the people, knows that the wealth-producers of England, her laborers, were always destitute of the comforts of life, and have been so down to this day. For it is not to be forgotten that what are known as the comforts of life vary with the times in which one lives, with the advance of civilization and the general improvement of the race. Look at the laborers home-furniture in 1300, and note its nothingness. It consisted of a bed, a three-legged pot-holder to put over the coals, a brass pot, a cup, an andiron, and a rug or coverlid, all of the average value of ten shillings, which it would take him ten weeks to earn. What laborer now would be content with them? Their dwellings, too, were miserable hovels of intense nastiness, and their persons did not exhale a perfume suggestive of

“Persia’s beds of roses.”

Even as late as the times of Henry VIII. (1509–47), as we learn from Furnival’s “Early Education in England”—“the commonalty did stink, as may be concluded from Cardinal Wolsey’s custom, when going to Westminster Hall, of holding in his hand a very fair orange, whereof the meat or substance within was taken out, and filled up again with the part of a sponge, wherein was vinegar and other confections against the pestilent airs.” Erasmus also speaks of the “filthiness of the streets and the sluttishness within doors, their floors being strewed with rushes,” (and this was true of even the ‘better sort,’) under which lies unmolested an ancient collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, voidings of dogs and cats, and everything that is nasty.”*

* “An ancient and fish-like smell.”—*Shakspeare*.

But to return: A statute of 1377 affords some information as to the courses taken by the villeins in their efforts after further emancipation. The Act was passed on complaint of "lords and commons, and men of the holy church, because villeins and land-tenants, who owe service to their lords, have withdrawn their service by procurement of other counsellors and abettors who hire them, and affirm them to be wholly discharged of all servage, and will not suffer justice to be made on them; and what is more, they do gather themselves in great routs and agree by confederacy that every one shall aid every other to resist their lords with strong hands. And so they seemed, partly by law and partly by force, to resist all claims due of their bodies and of them as land-tenants." *

The abolition of slavery was one of the demands of the rebellion of Wat Tyler (1379-81), which shows that villenage still existed, and that the struggle between master and slave was by no means ended. In fact the contest continued for years, the king throwing his power, with an occasional exception, in aid of the lords. One of the means of perpetuating the abuse was a statute (1388) enacting that "all persons who had been employed in any labor of husbandry till the age of twelve (12), should ever after abide in the same service, and be incapable of being put to any other trade." Petitions also were made to the king, (which, however, he refused to grant,) that "*villeins might not be allowed to put their children to school* in order to advance them to the church." And here it ought not to be omitted that at the monastic schools were educated very many of the sons of the poor, and when educated, their advance in the church was limited only by their own lack of talent, or of diligence. They might rule nobles and sit by kings, nay even confront and oppose them. Thomas à Becket was the son of a poor man, and Cardinal Wolsey the son of a butcher. But the ploughman's son, who did not have this chance of schooling, who did not become of the priesthood, "he delved, and ditched, and dunged the earth, eat bran-bread, and meatless vegetables, drank water, and went miserably." May there not be apprehension that if the tables turn, and the poor attain unto legislative power, and so legislate for the rich, as in "ye olden time" the rich legislated for the poor, a sort of re-

* These seem to have been the earliest strikes.

tributive legislation, more natural than agreeable, might ensue? Our remedy for this is homœopathic, (in quality, not in quantity,) the thorough education of the poor man, so that when all stand with the same educational privileges within their grasp, the spirit of retribution shall be utterly expelled, and men shall only remember the past in its monitions, and all earnestly and successfully strive for the permanent good of the whole race in the future.

It is all but incredible how long the old spirit lingers, and how sacred the usages of "time immemorial," and of the dead past, seem to be even in the England of our day. A "lord of the manor," in a Surrey village where he had recently established a school, would allow nothing but reading to be taught therein; and a clergyman of the established church, but a few years since, at a meeting of farmers on matters appertaining to the school business, pleaded in favor of reading and writing, but against arithmetic, since the boys would be getting *to know too much about wages, and that would be troublesome!*

Endeavors to keep the people down show, all along these centuries, how great fears had been excited, and show, also, the formidable character of the popular strength to operate to the advantage of those who had been before so severely oppressed. And it is comforting to find that advantages had been secured,—though very slowly, and only "after much tribulation,"—for the infrequent mention of "villenage" in English history, after the fourteenth century, indicates that it was falling into a desirable and permanent decay.

Villenage decaying, and forced labor giving way to free labor, it was obviously natural that a wage-system should be introduced, for that was the only system that suggested itself to minds so little educated in true political economy, as were the minds of the men of those days. And yet the system of working for wages was not allowed to have its proper and natural course, and employers still obstinately contended to preserve an affinity between the old class of villeins, or forced workers, and the new class of wage-laborers, by limiting their earnings by enactments. Having lost control of the persons of their bondmen, they now endeavored to control them by legislation affecting their wages, diet and dress; and as the employers were the law-makers, these means were made pretty powerful to keep

down the nascent growth of independence.* Complaint was made (1376) that masters were obliged to give high pay to keep servants from running away—a feat they were prone to perform upon very slight cause, wandering from county to county, becoming beggars and tramps, vagabondizing all over the land, getting a living by petty thieving and general plunder. Imprisonment was resorted to, and punishment of sterner severity; but still fugitives filled the land, and sympathy gave them shelter. The truth is, that liberty, small as it was, had lifted such a burden from off the shoulders of the enthralled, that they seemed to bound upwards in the jolly elasticity of self-ownership, and like a gas-inflated ball, spurning for awhile the control of gravity, they shot upwards beyond the pull of the loadstone and gravity of law, and only settled down when physical necessity compressed the vaporous air, and taught them to descend and “do or die.” Nothing is more natural; we have seen it in our own day, and then, as ever, “something is to be pardoned to the spirit of liberty.”

But the restraining and keep-down principle was stoutly maintained, and a system of *passes* and *letters-patent* was established to prevent laborers going about the country, and to confine them within the neighborhood where they were born. In default of these, the wandering bummers of the day were put into prisons, or fastened into stocks, where they could meditate, be a scoff and a jesting, and the butt of unsavory missiles.

The insurrection of Wat Tyler, already referred to, with all its dreadful features and its kingly fraud, helped, nevertheless, very materially to extinguish the old servitude, and to vivify and strengthen the determination of the people to secure more liberty, and, although the manumission granted was afterwards revoked, and hundreds of the insurgents were put to death as traitors, a decided step forward towards freedom was taken and never relinquished.

During the continuance of this system of English slavery, the great lords and landowners seemed to have lived on their own territorial domains. Money must have been very scarce, and foreign trade and domestic manufactures in feeble infancy.

* Are not laws regulating wages a manifest interference with the accepted, but debatable, law of supply and demand?

When the villein became a freeman and a wage-laborer, and, consequently, the supporter of himself and his family, he incurred the obligation of rent with his other responsibilities; and this rent, due generally to the owner of the soil he tilled, he would be obliged, in absence of the ordinary means, to discharge in kind, or in the produce of the land he hired. But he had no capital wherewith to buy the means of cultivation; and therefore many landowners furnished their hinds (farm tenants) with cattle, seed, and agricultural implements, and he repaid the loan with one-half the net produce, after a deduction of seed for the next year. This system, however, though long continued, was exhaustive of the soil, discouraging and ruinous to the tenant, and, as it ought, gradually disappeared.

It will not have escaped notice that hitherto nothing has been said of the history of the *poor*, as a class, and the reason is that under a system of complete slavery, of entire villenage, with the whole control of the bondmen in the hands of owners, there would be no *poor*, as a class, to be legislated for or against. The masters who owned them from birth, who received the benefit of their labors during the vigor of their manhood and strength, would have to provide for them when sick, old, or by age incapacitated for work. The poor, as such, sprang out, strangely as it may sound and seem, from liberty, and were increased in numbers and in poverty by the introduction of manufactures, (1200 to 1350,) and the enlargement of commercial trade. They who had left their agricultural master, either at his own or their own will, and, abandoning agriculture, had adopted other methods of labor and support, had by so doing severed all ties, and released from all obligations their old supporters, and upon their new employers no duty nor liability was imposed to render assistance, when infirmity of any sort precluded labor. It is, under this new arrangement, "the *laborer* who is worthy of his hire," and if no labor no hire; so that, in times of personal distress and want, charity, in some form, private or public, must supply subsistence, and when this is done, then the *poor* become a recognized class. And these poor, thus originating, have been always found less numerous in the country and more abundant in the towns; because, as all able writers on the subject agree, in the country, among an agricultural people, wealth is more equally distrib-

uted, and in the towns, the centres about which trade and commerce gather and manufactures collect, the tendency always is to aggregate wealth into the hands of the few, who, by natural or acquired shrewdness, or both, possess the talent of absorption. And this fact of the better opportunity of acquisition afforded in great commercial or trade centres, and by getting good foothold in manufacturing labor, and so securing promotion and wealth, has the obvious effect of attracting people from the country to the town. "If you want money," says the proverb, "go where money is." So that, as the population of the country diminishes, that of the town increases, and the more there are by whom and from whom money may be made; and so, as time lapses, the riches of the rich augment, and the small means of the poor grow smaller. For it is undeniably true that there is not yet wealth enough in the world for the absorption of vast fortunes into the hands of a few, without a corresponding drainage from a good many, and the riches of the rich have their complement in the poverty of the poor.

The personal freedom, then, itself, which, after years of toil and struggle, the villein of England attained, was the dominant cause of the poverty of him who succeeded as the laborer of later days. Villenage secured to the laborer food, fuel, dress and shelter, such as they were, so long as he lived, while freedom secured him the same, such as they were, but only so far as he himself could secure a recompensed employment. What shall we say then, "Is slavery better than freedom?" Not at all,—by no manner of means,—for in the one lives hope, and in the other grim despair.

"Better to dwell in freedom's hall
With a cold damp floor and a mouldering wall,
Than bow the head and bend the knee
In the proudest palace of slavery."

The wage-system, improvement as it was over the force-system, has, however, resting upon it a heavy responsibility, for we believe, and think that time in its revelations will sustain our belief, that all the evils of unequal distribution, the exorbitant wealth and the appalling poverty of modern civilization, are attributable thereto.

So, then, at this point of time—the opening of the fifteenth

century—we consign villenage to its tomb. But another grim monster arises to try our courage, to test our faith, to task our patience, and to keep us mindful of great moral obligations, and that monster is poverty, whose abolition is the next urgent and vexing question of social science.

Excellent progress had been made from bad towards good,—from bondage towards liberty,—yet not by any means, nor for long years, nor even yet, to the perfectness of attainment. The better state had not its foundation upon a high moral sense of Christian duty, but upon what operates with quicker power upon mankind, and that was what at last seemed to them, after a good deal of driving, to be their own personal interest. Men will generally concede, if concession work great gain, or if they think it will. Like Goldsmith's good Madam Blaize, we

“Freely give to all the poor,
Who leave a pledge behind.”

And the owners in villenage, perceiving release from all obligation to maintain during life, well or sick, young or old, the bondmen of their soil, with the gain of ability to hire when, where, whom, and for as long as they pleased, yielded, and the relation of master and servant underwent one great change.

At the close of the fifteenth century the condition of society had also materially changed, but the change came about more by the natural course of events, than by such intervening effort and influence of a high moral sense of right and justice, as has meliorated the condition of society in later times. Feudalism had nearly passed away, its power becoming absorbed into that of the throne. The great baron-kings became subjects, their vassals became the people, and their tumultuous men-at-arms were merged into the standing army of the sovereign of the realm, so that the three orders of society, now distinctly recognized, stood forth: the sovereign, or super-reigner; the nobles, including the clergy; and the people,—king, lords temporal and spiritual, and the commons.

Heretofore, legislation had been brought to bear upon the villeins, but now, they disappearing, (and the wars of the Roses consumed a good many of them,) the law directed its attention to their successors, the poor, and it began to look after them with a pretty sharp scrutiny, prolonging their hours of labor,

and specifying their wages, their dress, the cost of their clothing, &c., &c., with a degree of minuteness both strange to modern ideas, and sufficiently amusing. A chief shepherd or chief laborer received £1 per year, and 5s. more for clothing; a common servant 16s. 8d., and 4s. for clothing; a woman 10s., and 4s. for clothing; a child under fourteen years 6s. 8d., and 4s. for clothing. A master carpenter 6d. a day, without diet; a bricklayer and glazier the same; a farm laborer from 4d. to 6d., without diet, with diet 2d. less. These prices, to be represented at their present values, would be put at about fifteen (15) times as great. For their work hours, it was enacted, that "inasmuch as they waste much part of the day, sometimes in late coming to their work, early departing therefrom, long sitting at their breakfast and at their dinner, and long sleeping at afternoon, it is ordained that they be at their work (between March and September,) before five o'clock in the morning; that they have half an hour for breakfast, an hour and a half for dinner, and that they depart not from their work till between seven and eight o'clock in the evening." The summing up of this time gives about twelve hours a day, while the other six months of the year, the work was from daylight to night, an average of probably eight hours. From May to August the laborer seemed to have had the privilege of a *nap at noontime*. The cloth they wore must not cost over 2s. the yard; and vagabonds and beggars were likewise provided with three days and nights in the stocks for a first offence, and six for a second, to be fed on bread and water, with a fine upon any one who should give them anything better.

In 1530, legislation divided beggars into two classes, one comprising those whom age or impotence incapacitated to labor, and the other those who avoided labor, as idlers and vagabonds, and these, if found begging, were to be tied to a cart's tail and whipped till the blood coursed down from the lashed flesh, and then sworn to return to the place of their birth, or last residence for three years, and "there to put themselves to labor, as true men ought to do."

It is a noticeable fact, that in the Act of 1597, for the "punishment of rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars," there stand at the head of the list of those to whom the Act was to apply, *scholars of the universities of Cambridge and Oxford*, practising

a little occasional alms-asking, probably, in the way of incipient mendicant friars. The great fact brought to light by this reference to the irrepressible and sickening pauperism of this century, a pauperism that has been continued without interruption to the present day, when a million of paupers exist in England, is that the laboring classes are found to have made no advance comparable with that of the higher and middle classes. The latter were, by their more favorable social position and better means, kept out of the dreadful contagion, while the latter, being close down to the mendicants, and almost, if not quite, in contact with them, with great difficulty, if in many instances at all, were able to keep out of the surging current. Their hours of labor were many, their earnings were small, and food was dear compared with those earnings, so that at the end of the century they could command fewer of the necessities of life, than they could at the beginning. Of the vast herds of thieves, robbers and vagrants, that desolated the land at this period, an idea may be formed from the historic fact that Henry VIII., in the course of his reign of thirty-eight years, executed no fewer than 72,000 of them, being at the rate of 200 a day. To be sure, that paunchy tyrant, who had no special bowels of mercy towards anybody that stood in his way, and spared neither wives, nor ministers, nor friends, would not be very likely to be tolerant of any "displeased and frowzy vagabonds that might have fallen into the greedy clutches of the law."

In the reign of Elizabeth, "rogues were also trussed up apace," and hardly a year passed by wherein 300 or 400 of them were not devoured and eaten up by the gallows, in one place or another. In 1596, in the county of Somerset, 40 persons had been executed in one year, 35 burnt in the hand, 37 whipped, 183 discharged, and these last the record declares to have been "most wicked and desperate persons, who could come to no good, because they would not work, and none would take them into service." It furthermore declares that, not one-fifth part of the felons were brought to trial, the rest escaping through cunning, the remissness of magistrates, or the lenity of the people;—and that such was the boldness of the vagabonds and their great numbers, rendered more formidable and successful by combining together in troops of fifty or sixty, that the people lived in a perpetual state of fear, and were obliged to keep a

constant guard over their flocks, herds and fields. The other counties were in quite as bad a condition, there being an average of 300 or 400 able-bodied vagabonds therein, living by thefts and robberies, and keeping the people in a state of enduring alarm and terror. It is evident that, though it may be difficult to define exact causes for this sad state of things, a leading cause must have been the lack of work other than in agricultural labor, that being itself overstocked. For other branches of industry were paralyzed by taxations, extorted gifts from the subject to the crown, compulsive loans and monopolies, and such other arbitrary proceedings as brought general profit into private hands, and entailed beggary and ruin and bondage elsewhere. The tax-gatherers, also, had a convenient method of dealing tenderly with those who were best able to pay, and toughly with those least able. The absorption of small estates into the larger ones, which has gone on to the present day, when all England is owned by 30,000 landowners, was at this time noticeable, and so was the decay of the race of English cottagers,—a decay both in numbers and in physical capability. The over-taxed and half-starved owner of a dozen acres would gladly part with his little territory to a more fortunate neighbor, and the half-paid and wholly starved laborer would readily vacate his cottage, and both, in hope of mending their condition, would either take to the road, or make for the towns,—in the one case increasing the number of tramps and thieves, and in the other helping to overcrowd the town's poor. Now, though the study of the condition of people in this century (sixteenth,) shows that the upper-middling class was improving in property, it likewise shows that the laborers were going from very bad to much worse, and that they were scarcely able to live and pay their rents, when due, without selling a cow or a horse, although the rent was but four pounds a year.

There was, furthermore, great difficulty in compelling the collectors of tax-moneys for the relief of the poor, to account for what remained in their hands undistributed, so that their frauds increased the sufferings of the subjects of charity, while ostensibly a goodly sum had been raised. To such an extent was this carried, that power was given by enactment to the bishops and other officials to imprison defaulters until they settled their accounts, and the same Act empowers justices of the peace to

license poor persons as beggars "if the parish wherein they live have an overstock of them."

This legislation for relief of the poor was, however, attended, and most unwisely, in our view, with further legislation upon the hiring and service of laborers; and yet there was a spirit of disapproval thereof, showing itself in some of the very phrases of the law, they declaring legislation on such subjects to be so liable to imperfections and contradictions, that it cannot be carried into execution "without great grief and burden to the poor and laboring man." The enactment now spoken of, seemed to have for its object to check the rush of all ranks of the people into the cities, to engage in manufactures or commerce, and to make the rating of wages, from year to year, less burdensome, by authorizing the justices to make such variations, as the yield of the seasons and the prices of provisions in their several counties might justify. Servants, laborers and apprentices were affected by this statute. All single males between 12 and 60 years old, all married persons under 30 years, and all single women between 12 and 40 years, not having a visible livelihood, must serve in agriculture; all laborers and artificers must work from five A.M. till between seven and eight P.M. in summer, with allowance of time for breakfast and dinner, and in winter from daylight to dark. Householders in husbandry, and householders in towns may receive apprentices, the latter in the mechanic arts, from 18 till 24 years of age, while justices may apprentice the poor for the same term.

Legislation in 1572, levied a general assessment for the relief of the poor, devoting all unused surplus money to the employment of rogues and vagabonds in work under paid overseers; and to render the meaning of the words "rogues and vagabonds" clear of doubt, declares them to be "*idle persons, pretenders to physiognomy and fortune-telling, fencers, minstrels, jugglers, peddlers, tinkers and petty chapmen, and scholars begging without license,*" &c., &c.

Beggars, if above 14 years of age, were punished by whipping and burning through the gristle of the right ear; and if guilty of a second offence, they were judged felons and put to death.

In 1597 these penalties were modified; and, instead of being burnt through the ear, the "rogue, vagabond or sturdy beg-

gar" was ordered to be "stripped naked from his middle upwards and to be whipped until his body was bloody," and then to be sent to his own parish.

A previous Act of Elizabeth had provided for the establishment of *houses of correction*, and for the procuring of supplies of "wool, flax, hemp, iron, or other stuff, that youth might be brought up to labor, so as not to grow to be idle rogues; and that they who be already grown up idle, and so already rogues, may have no just excuse for saying that they cannot get work." The keepers of these supplies were likewise authorized to furnish them to persons outside these houses, and then to pay them for fabrics made up, and to invest the proceeds of these in more raw material for further work. Ordinary idlers were sent to these houses and forced to labor, while the incorrigible were banished from the realm, or sentenced to the galleys,—a punishment actually inflicted at this period.

Towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth, there was a great scarcity of food and consequent high prices. The year 1596 was a very hard year for the poor, and nothing but a liberal importation of rye from Denmark, sold at low rates to the poor, prevented famine. Even articles, of which no scarcity existed, *were made artificially scarce, and therefore costly, by unreasonable and unseasonable privileges granted to monopolists.* The better harvests of 1597 relieved this suffering; but yet, an uninterrupted succession of unfavorable weather, inducing scanty crops in a subsequent period of years, caused very great distress among the poor and heavy taxation for their relief. Another cause assigned as creating distress among the poor, was the rapid growth and great size of London. It contained, in 1590, 160,000 inhabitants, and this number was thought to be so very much too large, that the queen issued a proclamation forbidding the erection of any more buildings within three miles of London or Westminster,—*prohibiting the division of a house into tenements for several families*,—directing that all shops and sheds built within seven years should be pulled down, and declaring that empty houses built within seven years should not be let, unless the owner would let them to the poor of the parish at such prices as the parish authorities would allow, and that all unfinished buildings on new foundations should be pulled down. The proclamation is issued, as it set forth in

preamble, because of the manifold inconveniences and mischiefs unto the city and suburbs of London, by confluence of people to inhabit it, and the difficulty of governing such multitudes to obey God and the queen, and of supplying them with food and the necessities of life at reasonable prices; and, finally, because *great multitudes of people inhabiting small rooms*, and these very poor, and such as must live by begging or worse means, being therein *heaped together, and in a sort smothered*, with many families of children and servants in one house or small tenement, it must needs follow that if plague or sickness come among them, it would presently spread through the whole city and confines. One would think, as his eye glances over this record, that he was reading a narrative of matters existing in the nineteenth century.

Among the funds appropriated for the aid of the poor, were pecuniary fines for various offences, as profaneness, immorality, non-attendance at church, detention of goods belonging to bankrupt estates, *non-wearing of a woollen cap on Sunday*; attending mass at a Catholic church, and similar evil doings against the established church, tippling, disorderly conduct on Lord's day, taking game and fish at improper times and places, failures of judges to put the laws into execution, &c., &c.

During the reign of James I., the acts of Elizabeth were continued, and as no provision was made against the return of exiled vagabonds and rogues, who might come back and not be recognized, it was enacted that if dangerous and incorrigible, they should "be branded on the left shoulder with the letter R, burnt in with a hot iron," and if caught afterwards "they should be put to death without benefit of clergy." The first parliament of this monarch attempted also to regulate the wages of laborers, and they conferred the power on justices of the peace, thereby generating a very great abuse. For, with the exception of clothiers, any master-manufacturer who could procure a commission as justice, could regulate the wages of his own workmen, and grind them down to the lowest point above starvation. Enactment was also made to prevent work-people spending their earnings in tippling-houses, by inflicting a forfeit of ten pounds, to the use of the poor of the parish, upon any keeper of a public house who should permit any laborers to so-

journal, ledge, or victual in his house, except upon special occasion, to be decided by two justices of the peace.

Several writers of this period strongly advocated the establishment of herring-fishing as "England's way to win wealth," and to employ the poor. In the winter of 1614, there were 300 men in the small town of Yarmouth, "living very poor for lack of work," who would "gladly have gone to sea as fishermen, had there been any supply of boats." This pursuit was also recommended as a means of setting the idle vagrants at work, and "teaching many a tall fellow to know the proper names of the ropes in a ship, who now, for lack of employment, and the inconvenience of living idly, are compelled to end their lives with ropes round the neck, by an untimely death," which might all be avoided, and "they, in time, become right honest, serviceable and trusty subjects." Sir Walter Raleigh, and many other great men of the day, advocated this proposal of so setting "valiant rogues" at useful and profitable labor, but no attention was given to the practical establishment of fisheries till the reign of Charles II. (1660.) From 1600 to 1620, the price of provisions ranged high, so that no laborer at 8*d.* a day, the average pay, could be well provided with the necessaries of life. Potatoes were a delicacy for the rich only, at 2*s.* a pound, and tea and sugar were still greater rarities, the former selling at £6 to £10 a pound. As late as 1726 only 700,000 pounds were imported into England, while in 1858 there were 73,000,000.

So the poor suffered for lack of work on the one hand, and high prices on the other, "many parishes," as is set forth in a pamphlet called "Greevous Grones for the Poor," "turning out their poor, yea, their lusty laborers to begge, filch and steale for their maintenance, so that the country is pestered with them, yea, and the maimed souldiours that have ventured their limbes and their lives, are thus requited. They are turned forth to travaile in idleness, (the highway to hell,) untill the law bring them to the fearful end of hanging."

Great questions of state occupying the legislature for many years at this time, very little is known about matters of internal police, or parliamentary action about the poor, till the Restoration, in 1660. The old Acts respecting *rogues and vagabonds*, and the relief of the poor, and against drunkenness, were kept

alive and enforced as far as could be, but very little addition was made to the old statutes. Some idea of prices may be had from the fact that a chicken cost *5d.*, a dozen tame pigeons *6s.*, a pound of butter *5d.*, a dozen eggs *4d.*, and four bushels of charcoal *10d.*, while the wages of a master mason were *12d.* a day, with some perquisites; and servants *3d.* to *4d.* In 1630, a proclamation was issued to the citizens of London recommending them to abstain from one meal a day to prevent further scarcity of food, and to devote the money so saved to the relief of the poor. A singular recommendation, yet not so surprising when we remember that the people permitted the closest research and espionage into their houses and mode of life, and were even persuaded "to preserve carefully, in proper vessels, all house-wastage, and as much of all animals as could be collected, for the use of his majesty's patentees of saltpetre!" This practice was repeated at the South during the late rebellion. One Mr. Stanley, who at one time was an *inns-of-court gentleman*, but who afterwards, by "lewd company," became a highway robber, in Elizabeth's reign, having been converted, wrote a pamphlet recommending the establishment of *work-houses* for the relief and employment of wandering beggars and idlers, and to prevent their untimely and shameful deaths. He showed that the "curses of England" were then three, (now they are seven,) vagrancy, thieving in all its branches, and prostitution, and for these the workhouses were to be the remedy. He computes the number of these "valiant rogues" at 20,000, and the cost and maintenance of them to be £89,000, which might all be saved if they could be set at work. He thought it better, and so it was, to do this, than to whip, brand or hang them according to law.

Orders in council of 1630, directed inquiry to be made about the offences of forestalling, short weight, adulteration of food, burglary, stealing, tavern haunting and tippling, night-walking, lodging of vagrants, and all manner of "offences by victuallers, artificers, workmen and laborers;" and constables were to demand of all persons wandering about with women and children, whether and where they were married, and whether and where the children were christened, for, say the orders, "these people live like savages; they neither marry, nor christen, nor bury, which licentious liberty makes so many delight to be rogues

and wanderers.” So the condition of the poor of merry England, up to this date, may be fairly inferred to have been wretched in the extreme: houseless, ragged and starved, terrified and embruted by fear of famine on the one hand, and threatened and maddened by fear of the gallows, the stocks, and the whipping post on the other. So then, as ever, “the destruction of the poor is their poverty.” The fate of a mad dog was no worse, and his means of defence a good deal better.

In 1662, under pretence of providing for the better relief of the poor, an Act was passed, the effect of which was, in reality, to reduce the laboring population of England to their former condition of villenage. This was the statute which is the foundation of the modern law of settlement. It declares that pauperism continues to make head against all restraint, that the number of paupers is greatly increasing throughout the kingdom, and their support is very burdensome; that a want of clearness in the law of their settlement, doth enforce many of them to become incorrigible rogues, and others to perish of want. To remedy these evils, any two justices of the peace, on complaint of church-wardens and overseers of the poor, might, by force, remove any new coming poor person to the parish where he was last settled, unless he rented a tenement of £10 a year, or gave the justices satisfactory bonds that he would not become burdensome to the new parish. This law lasted till 1795, and under it no poor man could possibly transfer himself from one place to another, even under prospect and hope of bettering his condition. His own parish was his prison, and though he had committed no crime, no misdemeanor, no offence of any sort, unless a desire to better his condition be an offence, there he must live, there he must toil, there he must die, and there be buried. For the space of one hundred and thirty years *free-born* Englishmen were slaves of their own laws, while boasting of a liberty the rights whereof they did not comprehend, and of the abuse of which, by those in power, they made no popular complaint nor outbreak, “although,” as Adam Smith remarks, “there can scarce be a poor man in England of forty years of age who has not, in some part of his life, felt himself cruelly oppressed by this ill-contrived law of settlement.” And what made it worse yet, was that its provisions left Scotchmen and Irishmen unmolested,

with liberty to settle down anywhere, as they pleased, to move or go where and when they liked, with "nobody to molest or make afraid,"—only the native-born were restricted, and tied down to their native soil. And this continued till within forty years, when, by Act 59, Geo. III., chap. 12, natives of Scotland, Ireland, Isles of Man, Jersey and other channel islands, have been made removable with their families from any parish to which they became chargeable to the place of their birth. The effect of this law is well set forth by William Hay, M.P., in 1735, in his "Remarks on the Laws relating to the Poor." He says that a poor man is no sooner got into a neighborhood and an employment that he likes, but, at the humor of the parish, he is sent to another place, and from this last to another, and then, perhaps, to a third, so that he really has no certain resting place. He has to defray the expense of moving his family and effects, and this cost eating up all the value of the latter, he is obliged to sell them, and so, from liability of becoming chargeable, he becomes really so. Henry Fielding, the novelist, likewise illustrates the operation of the law, in a pamphlet (1753) on making provision for the poor, where he says, that in all cases of removal the good of the parish, not of the public, is consulted; nay, sometimes the good of some individual only. A poor man, who is capable of getting his living by his trade and industry, is sure to be removed with his family, specially if the overseer of the parish, or any of his relations, *happen to be of the same trade*; but the *idle man*, who can rival nobody in his business, is allowed to stay till he becomes chargeable; and if he contrives to avoid this by thieving in any way, nobody molests him, so that the law cleared out the industrious and let the lazy remain. Public opinion at last caused the abolition of the statute in 1795, so that an English laborer was authorized to remain wherever he might choose to work, till he became actually chargeable.

Sir Josiah Child's "New Discourse of Trade," 1668, detailing the condition of the poor as extremely sad and wretched, had a plan by the author for affording profitable employment for the poor, in which he proposes that the government of parishes, in all matters relating to the poor, should be put into the hands of a body of persons, to be incorporated as the "Fathers of the Poor," each of whom (that is, each of the

fathers, not each of the poor,) should wear a designating medal, “*after the manner of the familiars of the Inquisition of Spain.*”

This law marks the close of legislation against the sturdy rogues and strolling vagabonds of the older days, and wandering beggary settled down under it in the form of a permanent and abiding pauperism.

The sum expended for the support of paupers was estimated, in 1673, at £840,000 a year, doing more hurt than good, as a careful writer of the day observes—making more poor instead of fewer; encouraging idleness, beggary and pilfering, and the rearing of children to the same vices, instead of making them useful in their day and beneficial to themselves and the public. He therefore proposes, instead of making weekly allowances, to set them at work, young and old, in carding, combing and spinning of linen, woollen and worsted, in working plain work in lace, silks and threads—with the sales of which they may, in part, at least, contribute to their own support. This same author has a droll conceit that the distress of the poor was occasioned by the *diminution of the number of saddle-horses, in consequence of the newly introduced stage-coaches*. He argued that, before these conveyances were known, every man that had to travel many journeys yearly, kept horses for himself and servants; but now, since anybody can, for a few shillings, travel when and where he pleases, he needs no horses nor servants—and, consequently, no horses are kept, and many servants are thrown out of work. “For,” he adds, “coaches, with forty horses each (for relays), carry *eighteen passengers each every week, from London to York, Exeter, or Chester, and back*, which come to 1872 persons a year!” What would he have said had he lived till the days of locomotives? Under these circumstances, with stage-coach facilities from London to all the principal cities and towns, he argues a further decrease of horses, and therefore decrease of servants, and therefore further increase of the poor, and therefore increase of the poor-rates “*unless some noble souls, scorning and abhorring being confined to so ignoble, base and sordid way of travelling as these coaches oblige him unto*, and who prefers a public good to his own advantage,” shall keep up their saddle-horses and their attendant servants. A marvellous sample of logical

reasoning, yet matched in absurd oddity and folly by the boast of an English nobleman, recently deceased, that he had never ridden in a public steam-car, but had always been conveyed in his own coach drawn by his own horses.

Various projects for aiding the poor by enabling them to aid themselves, all founded upon theories apparently good in themselves, but failing in practice, were attempted in this century. They generally had a direct reference to some kind of manufacturing work, and undoubtedly turned the English mind in the direction of a branch of labor in which that country has been so long and so profitably employed. Prominent among these were the plans of Yarranton and Firmin for employing the poor in the manufacture of iron and of linen. No permanent results seem to have been secured, and the experiments of Mr. Firmin were attended with positive loss.

The rates of wages, as determined by the magistrates, during the period between 1600 and 1688, seem to have been, for common laborers, 8*d.* a day with food, and 12*d.* without, for the long days of the year; and 6*d.* with food, and 10*d.* without, for the short days. The yearly wages of an overseer in husbandry were £4; a best ploughman, £5 15*s.*; a common servant, £2 10*s.*; while a master mason, or carpenter, or bricklayer and plasterer had 6*d.* a day, with food; without it, they had double those rates. The prices of food are not easily ascertained. Mutton cost 2*d.* a pound, and wheat £3 10*s.* a quarter, of eight bushels. The income of a laborer (about the year 1688,) working with the aid of his wife and two children, appears to have been too little for the maintenance of his family; or, to state it in another way, a laboring man, with an average family for the year of $3\frac{1}{2}$ persons, would earn £4 10*s.* per head as income, and expend £4.12*s.* per head as cost of living, thus losing 2*s.* every year; while a nobleman, with an average family of 40 persons for the year, and having an average income of £80 per year per head, would expend but £70 per year per head, and thus be a gainer of £10 per year per head. So that the rich were growing richer and the poor poorer. In fact, Gregory King's curious tables of the incomes and expenses of the several families of England show that 500,586 persons, including nobility, gentry, officers of the army and navy, state officials, clergymen, lawyers, physicians,

some tradesmen and artificers, were earning or *receiving more than they spent*; while 849,000 persons, being common soldiers, seamen, laborers, cottagers, thieves, gypsies, and beggars, were *spending more than they earned or received*. They who received more than they spent, with an average number of $5\frac{1}{3}$ persons in the family, gained £1 2s. and 8d. every year; while those who spent more than they received, with an average of $3\frac{1}{4}$ in the family, lost 4s. 6d. every year; so that there was, as a whole, a gain to the general wealth of the kingdom, which he computes at nearly two and a half millions of pounds per year, on a population of five and a half millions of persons. He therefore proves that one class of these persons maintain themselves and add something to the general stock, besides contributing every year something towards the maintenance of the other class; while, of the other class, some partly maintain themselves, but that the rest are a burden to the public, consuming every year what would otherwise go to increase the general wealth of the country,—themselves descending into the slabby slough of debt, and becoming, year after year, more and more hopeless and dispirited, till pauperism pushes them into the poor house, and next a pauper's grave gives them "rest from their labors."

We have now reached the beginning of the eighteenth century, the reign of Queen Anne, pauperism and its attendant evils still harrassing the government, and exercising the thoughts of the best minds. It is very clear that the system of relief by poor-rates and alms-giving, instead of the sure and more permanent method of supplying remunerative work, was multiplying beggars, for if maintenance can be had without effort, few will labor for it. Workhouses were indeed increasing, but the race of vagrants and sturdy rogues was not consequently extinct, and great abuses were found to exist in the collection and distribution of poor-rates, and heavier taxes were levied to make up losses by malfeasance. Before the end of Anne's reign (1714) they had increased to a million of pounds sterling, in a revenue of five and a half millions, and, in 1751, to three millions, in a revenue of eight and a half millions. And if to these be added the amounts raised by the whole corps of beggars in their professional capacity, the aggregate of poor-alms would be nearly double that amount.

John Bellen, in his work called "Proposals for employing the Poor in a College of Industry," computes the actual national loss by the neglect to find regular employment for the poor, at five and a quarter million pounds sterling, on the basis of one in every fourteen of the population of seven millions (500,000) who do not, or will not work. Hence the effort to establish additional workhouses was continued, and a bill for the creation of one in every parish was introduced into parliament, but rejected by the House of Lords. To aid the opposition to this bill, Daniel Defoe* wrote his essay called "Almsgiving no Charity," in which he maintains, contrary to other authorities, that there was more work in England than hands to do it, that there was a want of laborers, and, especially, that the army and navy suffered so much for men, that the officers were compelled to take them from jail and gallows,— "the cankers of a calm world and a long peace," like Falstaff's ragged vagabonds. Had the market of labor been overstocked this would not have happened, and young and able-bodied men would not refuse to wear the queen's cloth, or anybody's cloth, rather than starve. He declares that it is poverty that makes soldiers, and that if a man can secure twenty shillings a week by work, he would be mad to enlist, with a chance of being knocked in the head, for sixpence. He adds that the English are not a *working race*, and that *good husbandry* (economy) is not a national virtue,—an Englishman starving or turning beggar, where a Dutchman would grow rich,—and that he has himself paid for a week's work to half a dozen men from ten to thirty shillings each, and as soon as they got it, they all went off to the nearest ale-house and got drunk, to the utter neglect of wives and children. He further suggests, that if the poor were incorporated as a business company, they would be the richest society in the nation; that is, that the proceeds of their beggaries would enrich them, and that doing so well in the vagrant business, they would be fools to leave it and go to earnest work. To this he adds an instance which occurred at his own door, when, needing some work done, he offered nine shillings a week to some strolling, stout fellows, and they laughed at him, saying that they could make more money at begging. Defoe opposed all legislation that attempted to find

* Author of "Robinson Crusoe."

work for the poor, expressing it as his belief that from this mistaken notion came all workhouses and work corporations of a public character, that such establishments are injurious to those who are already engaged in manufacturing as a business, and that if they be injured and ruined, thousands of the really industrious will be turned out of honest work, and that the bread of industry would be taken to feed laziness. Begging, he adds, is, in the able, a scandal upon their industry, and in the impotent, a scandal upon their country, and alms-giving to beggars encourages beggary, and does more harm than good. He further says, that the poverty of England does not lie among her craving beggars, but among those poor families, with many children, where sickness and death has deprived them of parents, and where a true Christian charity should labor and relieve.

Yet beggary and vagrancy increased, the poor-rates grew larger, and no certain and efficacious relief was devised, or has yet been devised, to undo the mischief growing out of the mistaken policy of wage. To-day there is a million of paupers in England, being one in every twenty of her people. But the workhouse system cannot be said to be a success, the name becoming gradually odious, and the place shunned from the associations connected with it. Demoralization and degradation then, as now, seemed to attend those whose necessities drove them thither for maintenance.

We are not assisted by the increase of documentary evidence upon the condition of the laborers and of the poor in this century. In fact, it obscures rather than elucidates the subject. But viewing the entire century, it is plain that while population did not increase in the first half, pauperism did, and that licentiousness, debauchery and drunkenness in all classes, high and low, rich and poor, prevailed to a frightful degree. The wealthy were profusely extravagant and dissolute, and the poor spent whatever they earned in riot and gin drinking, and the cry of philanthropists was, that the poison of the wildest intemperance was wasting the vitals of society, and that if its progress was not checked, "there would soon remain nothing but the putrid carcass of a once great nation."

Now, no one can fail to infer, and rightly, that this unsavory condition was owing to these causes, the unemployment, idle-

ness and waste of the upper classes, the low wages and increasing poverty of the workèrs, and the laziness and pauperism of the lowest classes.

But let us take the entire century, and examine the general condition of the nation through it as a whole. The vices were dreadful—the black spots that meet the eye hideously offensive. As the philanthropic observer examines the history of its poor, and legislation for them, he sees their numbers not diminished and the poor-rates increasing, and he turns away discouraged and heart-sick; but looking again, and over the whole, there is a gleam of comfort. He sees that wages have advanced a little, and that their power of purchase is increased, inasmuch as provisions did not rise proportionately, nay, even hardly at all, so that, with all the evil, there was something of good—a little silvery shimmer on the edge of the black cloud, proving sunshine somewhere,—more specially in the last half of the century, though Irish cottages were “swine-sties rather than houses,” and Dean Swift says that “there are thousands of poor wretches who think themselves blest in a hut worse than the squire’s dog-kennel.” Too much of just such miserable housing can be found now in all the civilized world. The general condition was, however, better, though that better would have been, in our view, with eyes of the nineteenth century, bad enough; for it is certainly true that the luxuries of life in one century, under an advancing civilization, even though slow, often become the necessities of life in another, and certain reasonable domestic gratifications, certain social enjoyments which two centuries before, or even one, no laborer might dream of having, become, to an intelligent and thoughtful workman of a later day, not only a necessity, but a right. Both material and mechanical appliances were improved; the moral power of law was greater, and men felt that human life was something more secure. All this is true, and is encouragement for further struggle; for it was, and is, and ever will be, man’s duty to

“Forget the steps already trod,
And onward urge his way.”

Remembering always that the voice he hears

“Is God’s all-animating voice,
That calls him from on high;
’T is his own hand presents the prize
To man’s aspiring eye.”

During the time when all these great difficulties were embarrassing the legislators, and retarding the progress of the people of England, the system of manufacturing cloth of woollen, introduced in the reign of Edward III. (1327,) was mainly a matter of home industry, but the clothiers were very unskilful, “knowing no more what to do with their wool than the sheep which wear it, their best cloth being no better than frieze in coarseness, for want of skill in making it.” The coming of Flemish clothiers into England caused a great improvement, and to encourage the manufacture, no cloth but of wool was permitted to be made. The business extended, and the bondmen of the country sought refuge and employment in the towns, and woollen fabrics became the great staple of the country, and so continued, till cotton, introduced into Spain in the tenth century, found its way into England in the seventeenth, and reached its maximum in the nineteenth. In 1800, sixteen million of pounds were received; in 1845, seven hundred and sixteen millions; and in 1859, eleven million of cwt. In 1769, the invention of Arkwright gave an impulse to its manufacture that caused it to increase with marvellous rapidity, and to an astonishing extent. This, added to the growth of other manufacturing operations in the kingdom, all giving employment to hundreds of thousands of her poor, specially after the application of steam as a motive power, rendered manufacturers independent of water localities, materially affected the condition of the laboring population, employing them in crowds, but throwing them into the power of employers, many of whom, in their greed for personal wealth, by severity of labor, long hours of work, inadequate recompense and neglect of education, brought them nearly, if not entirely, back to the wretched villenage of their deceased ancestors of the manor and the farm. Unsparring men were these, who with merciless pressure deteriorated the educational, moral and physical condition of the producers of the wealth of England, till England became a hissing and a scorn. Men, they seemed to be, like Dennis Bond, one of the directors (in 1730,) of a company known as the “Chari-

table (!) Corporation," which, under the plea of lending money to the poor,

"Who left a pledge behind,"

practised a system of loans by pawning, that ruined thousands and enriched a few. Parliament finally interfered, and expelled three of the directors who were members of the House of Commons. By a report of a committee appointed to investigate the iniquitous business, it was shown, that when it was objected that the removal of their business office from one part of the city to another, would be an injury to the poor, for whose use it was erected, this Bond exclaimed, "Damn the poor." In a note to Pope's lines, ("Moral Essays, Epistle III., l. 99,)

"Perhaps you think the poor might have their part,
Bond damns the poor, and hates them from his heart,"

the writer says that the genuine apothegms of some of these directors were, "God hates the poor," and "Every man in want is either knave or fool."

The rate of wages earned by operatives in woollen in 1750 to 1760 were, on an average of a whole year, 6s. 6d. a week in the east of England, 9s. 4d. in the south, and 11s. in the west. Agricultural wages were 8s. in the east, 6s. in the south and 5s. 10d. in the west, being highest where manufacturing wages were lowest, and lowest where the latter were highest. In an area of twenty miles from London, farm laborers averaged per week, for the year, 11s., and this pay lessened as the distance increased, giving a general average of 7s. 9d. per week. The average price of provisions was 4d. to 5d. per pound for beef and mutton, butter 7d., cheese 4d., the price falling as the distance above fifty miles from London increased. A workingman's house-rent was at an average of £1 8s., and fuel at £1 4s. All these prices, however, were affected by locality. Wages, in manufacturing localities, were at an average of 9s. 6d. for men, 4s. 7d. for women, and 2s. 8d. for children.

The general administration of the poor laws is described by Dr. Burn in his "History of the Poor Laws," London, 1764, in the following passage:—

“The office of an overseer of the poor, seems to be to keep an extraordinary look-out to prevent persons coming to inhabit without certificates, and to fly to a justice to remove them; and if a man brings a certificate, to caution the inhabitants not to let him a farm of £10* a year, and to keep him out of all parish offices; to warn them, if they hire servants, so to hire them that *they shall not acquire residence*, and to pick a quarrel with them before a year’s end, so as to get rid of them; to maintain the poor at the lowest possible price; not to lay out a penny in prospect of any future good, but only to serve the present necessity; to send them about the country a-begging; to bind out the children as apprentices, no matter to whom, or to what trade, provided they go from the parish; to pull down cottages and so drive out inhabitants, and let as few come in as possible, that by depopulation they may lessen poor-rates; to be generous when that will help the cause of the parish, as by bribing the reputed father of a bastard child to marry the mother, if the three will go somewhere else to live; to pay for an industrious poor man with a large family, the rent of a £10 farm for one year, provided *it is another parish*; to purchase for a poor fellow who exhibits a knack at trade, a stock of small wares, that he may go on a peddling tramp, whereby, and with a little stealing, he may pick up a decent living, and educate his children to the same profession.”

In the year 1767, Jonas Hanway induced the House of Commons to inquire into the state of poor parish children under fourteen years of age, within the bills of mortality, and this committee reported that, taking the children born in workhouses or parish houses, under twelve months old, for the year 1763, and following them to 1765,—*only two years*, 93 had died and only 7 lived! What an atrocious waste of the growing laborers of a State. And that it was sheer neglect, and a neglect for which no excuse can be given, is shown by the fact that, when an Act, passed for the prevention of this great wrong, directed that children under six years of age, born in or received into workhouses in the city, should be sent within two weeks, at least three miles from London to be taken care of till full six years old, it appeared that out of 9,727 children so sent, 7,685 survived! or 78 in every hundred, instead of only 7, as in the first-named case.

Philanthropists still continued their efforts to meliorate the sufferings of the poor and to improve the poor laws; the amount

* That would give him residence.

of actual legislation, however, during the first quarter of the reign of George III, was inconsiderable.

In 1776 nearly £1,750,000 were assessed for the relief of the poor; in 1783, £2,132,486, and in 1784, £2,184,904, an increase of 25 per cent. in nine years. With the exception of articles of clothing, the prices of all the necessities of life had continued to rise from 1780 to 1800, and the price of manufactured goods falling in the later years of that period, employment fell off; the poor were unable to procure the most ordinary necessities. The price of bread doubled in seventeen years, and the expense of subsistence generally had increased as much, excepting clothing. In other words, the poor man would need three shillings for every two to pay his way, or earning but two, must run into debt for what the other one would buy. Now it was not possible for the lowest class of laborers to keep out of starvation with the wages prior to 1795, and even more skilled laborers could only provide the merest apology for food, clothing and shelter, relinquishing everything akin to the small reasonable indulgences which some of them had enjoyed. A rise of wages was imperatively called for, and, in many instances, conceded. Where it was not, the able workmen and laborers resorted to enlistment in the army or navy. The wages of carpenters and joiners rose from 2*s.* 10*d.* in 1800, to 4*s.* 6*d.* in 1805; of bricklayers, from 3*s.* to 4*s.* 10*d.*; of masons, from 2*s.* 10*d.* to 5*s.*; yet, as within the last decade in the United States, these advances were far from being able to compensate for the advance which had taken place in the price of all articles of provisions. For instance, a laborer whose weekly wages in 1760 were 5*s.*, could purchase therewith, a bushel of wheat, a bushel of malt, a pound of butter, a pound of cheese, and a pennyworth of tobacco,—which same articles in 1801 would cost him 26*s.*, while his week's wages had risen to but 9*s.* That is, the condition of the laborer had become fearfully depressed, his wages buying but one-third what they did in former years,—or in other words, he must, to keep out of debt, consume but one-third as much food. Now, under the old prices, he barely lived—he was near neighbor to starvation; he could say to poverty, “thou art my mother,” and to distress and famine, ye are my brother and my sister! To give other examples, in 1795 the wages of journeymen tailors were 21*s.*

9*d.* per week, which would purchase thirty-six (36) quartern (or four pound) loaves of bread. In 1801 they were 27*s.*, but that would buy only half as many loaves of the same weight. In the same year (1801,) the wages of a journeyman printer had advanced 25 per cent. in five years, but bread had advanced 140 per cent. Now suffering was inevitable under such a state of things. Prices, when they do rise, rise rapidly, and the rise of one article is the plea for the rise of another. Wages rise very slowly. They are the last to rise and the first to fall. They keep a long way behind their marketable representative commodities. People having articles to sell, put up their prices with "joy and gladness," but "sorrow and sighing" attend the advance of wages to their employés. So the hastening to do the one, and the delaying to do the other, both tend to the oppression of the laborer, especially if he be a consumer of the articles which his employer, by the laborer's hands, manufactures, and which the same laborer must buy.

In a speech in Parliament of Mr. Fox, he declared that, while provisions had risen to an unexampled price, labor had, by no means, kept pace with them; and he said that it was a melancholy and alarming fact that, the great majority of the people of England,—“an enormous and dreadful majority,”—are not in a condition in which they can live by the produce of their labor, and that even the industrious poor have to depend on such assistance as they can get from the charity of the rich; and Mr. Whitbread further declared that the laborers were struggling with increasing misery, and yet that they bore it with the most forbearing and exemplary patience. The poor rates now reached the enormous sum of £3,000,000, and they would have been greater had Mr. Whitbread's bill prevailed—of fixing a minimum of wages below which wages should not be suffered to be paid. Had that been enacted, all who could not find employment at the rate fixed, and could yet find some below that rate, would have been reduced to worse than beggary, if not to starvation.

An Act of 1790, appointing justices of the peace as Boards of Visitors to poor-houses to look into the condition and treatment of their inmates, and to exercise judicial control over the keepers, was productive of good, but the most important Act was that of 1795, (George III, chap. 101,) which repealed the

Act passed one hundred and thirty years before, authorizing justices to remove persons *likely* to become chargeable to a parish, and provided that they should not be removed till they had *actually* become chargeable. The repeal of this Act was, in fact, a sort of abolition of slavery; for under its tyrannical power, the laboring classes, though not tied down to an estate, were tied within the narrow limits of a parish, not seldom smaller than an estate.

This was an improvement, but the method of *roundsmen*, which came into vogue under the reign of high prices, and extended back of the present century, was certainly bad. By it occupiers of property employed applicants for relief at a rate fixed by the parish, and depending not on the services, but on the wants of the applicant, and was compensated out of the poor rate for all that he had advanced beyond a certain sum, which was a set-off to the labor performed. These *roundsmen*, (so called because they travelled *round* the parish from house to house after labor and relief,) were often let out to farmers at a certain price, that is, the parish sold the labor of a certain number of paupers to farmers at a given price, the parish paying the paupers. As late as 1834, in Northamptonshire, the old and infirm were sold to the best bidder,* at auction, once a month, and elsewhere, once a week; and a clergyman of the parish of Yardley, told a government commissioner that he had seen, a few days before, 10 paupers let out, by such auction, to a farmer for 5s. a week. The system operated to distribute the poor rates unequally, the employer paying less than his proportion, and it operated, by being distributed in proportion to need instead of labor, as a premium on the propagation of pauperism.

The amount expended for the relief of the poor in 1801, was £4,018,000, more than double that expended seventeen years earlier, while the population had increased from 8,000,000 in 1785, to 9,000,000 in 1801,—that is, the population had increased twelve and a half per cent., and the poor rates fifty per cent.,—an increase to be credited to the terrible increase of pauperism, as Professor Craik justly declares. Such was the state of things which, in the lapse of centuries up to 1800, had grown up in a land where the law of primogeniture and entail

* Within memory the poor have been auctioned out in New England, and so has the district school teacher.

has aggregated property into the hands of a class—(there are but 32,000 landholders out of a population of 22,000,000 of people in England and Wales,) and where the wage-system and long hours of labor, have had full trial, scope and influence; and where the result has been that, there are more rich men, with more individual wealth, and where there are more poor men, with more individual poverty, than in any other land under the shine of the sun.

Wages continued to rise in the present century, carpenters receiving 33s. per week in 1815, bricklayers 32s., and masons 34s. 6d. in 1811; but provisions and the other necessities of life outstripped them, a quarter of wheat rising from 81s. in 1795, to 127s. in 1800, and 120s. in 1813. Generally prices and wages both rose (wages are prices paid for labor,) up to 1814, but prices rose faster than wages; but by 1820 prices had dropped, while wages held fast. Yet this last did not, and could not undo the mischief of former disproportions, and the result was an increasing swallowing up of the population by the maelstrom of pauperism,—so that in 1820, the sum expended for the poor was £7,329,594, on a population of 14,000,000 (England and Wales); in 1830, £8,111,422, on a population of 16,500,000.

The progress of crime, also, between 1800 and 1820, was nearly three times as rapid as the progress of population,—not so much in violent offences, as murder, as in offences against property, the great mass of the criminals being men, women and children whose only means of subsistence was pillage.

Professor Craik, from whom we have made large extracts, divides a community into five orders.—1. Those who live upon their property, without labor. 2. Those who earn their living by their brains, as professional men, clerks, &c. 3. Those who earn their living by their hands (producers of wealth,) as artisans of all varieties. 4. Paupers, maintained by public charity (and therefore not producers of wealth). 5. Criminals, earning their living by theft and plunder (and therefore not producers). Of these, the third class forms the bulk, the supporting foundation, the strength and productive energy, the very marrow, muscle and means, upon which depend the existence, welfare, and security of the social organization; a great protective middle wall between the

strata above and below it, the inventing, working, practical, industrial, orderly members of the community, increasing the revenues of the country, and enlarging the substance of the capitalist, and so feeding and clothing the whole; themselves, in their general condition, small sharers in the property they generate, at times not able to command even the necessities, to say nothing of the indispensable accommodations, or the small luxuries which render a life devoted to toil, a little less irksome, and throw a little cheerfulness and refinement over the small homes which shelter them. And the influence of such things no thoughtful man decries. It makes better what is good; it renders purer what is pure; it strengthens strength, lifts up the heart, invigorates the life, and so makes a man abler for his duty, and therefore of more productive energy. Nothing is more true than that if you desire to make a man clean, surround him with cleanliness; if to make him refined, surround him with refinement; if to make him holy, surround him with holiness. If you desire to keep him in heart and hearty in work, surround him with some of the heart-cheering results of his own work, and keep hope in quickened activity to stimulate him to continued successful effort. We concede the fact of a greater general prosperity, which opened with the present century, but we claim that under a true system of recompense, it would have come at an earlier day, been more substantial and enduring, and far more equally diffused. And, in this last expression, there is suggestion for thoughtful inquiry and anxious research.

COTTON MANUFACTURING.

But we have reached, as already hinted, that period when the manufacture of cotton, stimulated by the invention of successful machinery, and the application of steam power, the substitution in fact of inanimate for animate force, changed the personal relation, the habits and character of vast numbers of the English people, originated new systems of labor, generated new abuses, and rendered necessary new and stringent applications of protective law.

We have said that the close of the eighteenth century, showed some betterment in the general condition of the productive classes, and it is recorded that they then would not be con-

tented with the same food, clothing, and lodging that satisfied their progenitors in earlier days. The "Factory System" then took root and spread; and of the results on health, morals and character, the record of Dr. Aiken, made as early as 1795, gives a graphic and faithful picture. It is as follows—in substance:

"The invention and improvement of machines to shorten labor have had a surprising influence to extend our trade, and to call hands from all parts, particularly children, to fill the cotton mills. These children were collected from workhouses in London and Westminster, and transported in crowds, as apprentices, to masters hundreds of miles distant. They are confined at work in close rooms, and often all night. The influence is to weaken them for labor, and unfit them for any other branch of business. The girls grow up wholly uninstructed in sewing, knitting and other domestic occupations requisite to make them frugal wives and mothers, comparing very unfavorably with the wives and mothers of some laborers in agriculture and some of the mechanic artisans.* Among the latter are found neatness, cleanliness and comfort; among the former, filth, rags and poverty, although their wages may be double those earned by farm-laborers. It must be added that, the want of early religious instruction and example, and the numerous and indiscriminate association in factory buildings, are very unfavorable to their future conduct in life. Dr. Aiken adverts also to the prevalence of fevers, generated by neglect of ventilation, personal cleanliness, and working early in the factories in the morning without food."

How to mitigate what he calls, in too gentle terms, the "attendant inconveniences" of factory life, attracted at an early date, the anxious attention of many sincere and able philanthropists. They acted under the conviction that the invention of successful machinery in the abridgment of labor, was worse than useless when, without regard to their personal, domestic, social, political, moral and religious effect on the people, such machinery was used only as means of heaping up riches for the rich, and so making many poor, that a few might become enormously rich. To enjoy the good and prevent the evil of such improvements were the objects of the promoters of factory legislation. But the struggle was long, and, at times, discouraging;

* See replies to our Question 134, Blank 3, Appendix.

and it was only after the continued efforts of fifty years on the part of these earnest workers, that the "Ten Hours Bill of 1847" was secured. The struggle here in the United States, may be said to have just begun. May it end in victory in much less time.

There was originally a natural repugnance to factory labor, and it had become a synonym for lowness of character that a person had worked in a factory. This repugnance had, after a time, died away, and some of the idle and depraved heads of families had gradually come to live on the wages of their children. Such an inversion of the order of nature did not fail to attract notice, and while the opponents of factory legislation attributed its motives to the sentimentality of "false philanthropy, sham humanity and samaritanism," the fact was established that its real origin was self-preservation, for the enormities of unregulated, irresponsible and lawless factory operations were spreading disease and death in every direction, not only among the operatives, but among families of culture and refinement, who were above the necessities of toil.

The subject was first brought to the notice of Parliament by Mr. Wilbraham Bootle; subsequently the first Sir Robert Peel introduced, in 1802, his bill for "*the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and others employed in cotton and other mills, and in cotton and other factories.*" The bill passed into a law and was made applicable to all such mills and factories in Great Britain or Ireland, wherein three or more apprentices, or twenty or more persons shall be at any time employed. It provided that the actual hours per day, should be reduced to twelve, reckoning from six in the morning to nine in the evening, out of which the twelve hours might be taken, and that all night-work should cease in June, 1804. All apprentices were to be instructed in reading, writing and arithmetic; and one complete suit of clothing was to be supplied to each apprentice once a year. Factories were to be white-washed twice a year, and properly ventilated, and provision made for the separation of the sexes in their sleeping apartments. Two inspectors, one a justice of the peace, and one a clergyman of the Established Church, were to see to the enforcement of the law in each district.

Between 1802 and 1815, great changes had taken place in

cotton manufacture, and the operatives employed therein. Large buildings in the midst of populous towns were erected, in place of small ones on remote streams and in thinly peopled districts;—and the young children of the neighboring poor were sought, whose parents were not subject to the operation of the Act of 1802. These children were taken at the age of seven years, and sometimes less, kept at work fourteen hours a day, and subjected to a severity of treatment exceeding all belief. In fact, Sir Robert Peel, in pushing his second bill of 1816, put it more strongly, and showed that these children, forced from their beds at the earliest hour, were kept at work for fifteen or sixteen hours. Parliament yielded to his pleas and a select committee was appointed to investigate the whole subject. A large amount of testimony was taken, which was subsequently repeated before a committee of the House of Lords, in 1819, and resulted in the passage of the Act of 1819, (Geo. III., chap. 59,) which provided that no child under nine years of age should be employed in any cotton spinning establishment, and that no person under sixteen years should be employed more than twelve hours a day,—a half hour to be allowed for breakfast and a full hour for dinner. This better bill had the misfortune of being limited to cotton mills, and was, in that respect, a mistaken concession.

But the struggle continued, and though many years passed by, the great question was never forgotten, and a movement took place in 1830, the result of which was the introduction into Parliament by Sir John Hobhouse (now Lord Broughton,) and Lord Morpeth, of a bill, the provisions of which, as originally intended, applied not only to cotton factories, but to those employed in the manufacture of woollens, worsteds, and silks. The hours of work were to be restricted to eight and a half on Saturdays, and eleven and a half on all other days, Sunday, of course, excepted. Each person was to be allowed not less than half an hour for breakfast, nor less than one hour for dinner. No person under eighteen years was to work beyond these hours, and no child under nine to work at all in any factory. The owners of factories who favored regulation by law approved of this bill, and the operatives greeted it with enthusiastic support.

But opposition was organizing, and the mill-owners opposed to legislative interference held a meeting in March, 1831, and declared in resolution against the curtailment of the hours of labor, and the limitation of the working age of children—against the charge that twelve hours a day were excessive or injurious to those employed,—that any abridgment of time, or limitation of child-age, will cause reduction of pay, will cripple the means of parent-operatives with families, will raise the price of goods manufactured, will affect the home and foreign trade, will throw out of employ numbers of children beneficially engaged in worsted mills, as well as a corresponding proportion of other employés, and injuriously affect the agriculturists employed in raising wool. They attributed the hardships under which the laboring classes suffered, and the pressing necessity for daily labor, to the political and domestic circumstances of the country which demanded long hours of application to labor, and declared that until these circumstances changed for the better, all measures tending to reduce the wages, or obstruct the labor of the working classes, had a positively injurious character, and should be opposed by every humane individual. The influence brought to bear upon the bill finally emasculated it, and its intentions were virtually defeated. The disappointment was intense, but a spirit was roused which demanded even greater relief for both adult and child operatives, and in 1831, Mr. M. T. Sadler introduced a ten-hour bill into the House of Commons. The opposition was fierce and uncompromising, to such an extent that Mr. Sadler consented to a reference of the bill to a special committee of thirty-seven, comprising some of the most distinguished members of the House. This committee made no formal report, but the testimony taken was printed, and told a fearful tale. In the session of 1833, Mr. Sadler was not returned to Parliament, but the cause found an able defender in Lord Ashley. After some delays from month to month, the charge of the bill was relinquished by Lord Ashley into the hands of the government ministers.

A minute detail of the history of the progress of legislation from 1832 to 1847, would exceed the limit of an ordinary legislative document, and reference can only be made to parliamentary proceedings, and to the elaborate works of Alfred and of Wing on this most important subject.

But we add the main features of the Act of June 8, 1847, (10th and 11th Vict., chap. 49,) entitled "*An Act to limit the hours of labor of young persons and females in factories,*" restricting the hours of labor of young persons under eighteen, and females, after May 1, 1848, to ten hours a day, and fifty-eight hours a week. It is well known that this Act has practically operated as a general reduction of the hours of labor, in consequence of the interdependence of the labor of men, and that of women and young persons.* Three years later (1850,) additional legislation declared that the hours of labor for young persons and females, should be between six o'clock, A. M., and six o'clock, P. M., excepting that on Saturday, work should cease at two o'clock, P. M., that giving a weekly half-holiday. Meal times must be between 7.30 A. M., and 6 P. M. The hours, also, during which young persons and females could be employed, beyond the regular limits for recovering lost time, were restricted. It being found that this Act did not include children in its main provisions, further legislation (1853,) brought them within the purview of the law, unless under certain conditions, between the first days of October and April, when they might be employed between 7 A. M., and 7 P. M. But in no case, whatever, even to recover lost time, were they to be employed after two o'clock, P. M., on Saturdays, nor after seven o'clock, P. M., on other days.

Further legislation extended the reach of the Act to every department of labor in which women and children are employed, with this further proviso that women, and children under 13 years old, are absolutely excluded from labor in mines and collieries. Its protection seems to embrace factory operatives of every class, persons engaged in mines, collieries, earthen wares, lucifer-matches, percussion caps and cartridges, paper staining, and fustian-cutting, dyeing and bleaching, chimney-sweeping, baking, &c., &c., and finally, protection was thrown over the extensive shipping employment, and covered mariners and laborers of every class engaged therein, from the vast merchant ship to the smallest collier-craft. To all this it should be added that legislation has encouraged friendly societies, trade societies, building societies, industrial and provident societies, laborers' dwellings, recreation grounds, &c., &c., and the gen-

* Young persons are those between 13 and 18 years of age.

eral education of the working classes. But upon this last point, so long has the education of the common people of England been neglected, and such the difficulties of putting a system into practice, that a whole generation, if not more, must elapse, before a general influence can be realized.

A body of inspectors, with ample powers, was also organized, consisting of four chiefs, with headquarters in London, and sub-inspectors in various districts, always on duty, making weekly reports of their doings to the chiefs, and these last to one of the queen's principal secretaries of state, reaching parliament ultimately by her commands. Something akin to this we must have, or our laws will be words and nothing else.

It is but an act of justice here to make record of what the working people of England did in deciding the policy of their country when this country was making the great struggle for its national life. It was a sublime proof of the saying that the "voice of the people is the voice of God." We take an extract thereupon from "The Progress of the Working Classes," by Ludlow and Jones, (London, 1867):—

"At the time when every evil influence under heaven seemed combined to force England into abetting the slaveholders' secession; when the cotton famine and blockade runners' profits, the 'Times,' the country party and ship owners, Mr. Carlyle and half the piety of England, were urging us on to a course which all now feel would have been one of headlong and ruinous folly, the workingmen of Lancashire stood firm and fast to the holy principle of human freedom. Sublimely patient, far-seeing beyond speculators and statesmen, they could meet in the midst of their own deep distress, caused by the continuance of the war, to congratulate Abraham Lincoln on his Proclamation of Emancipation; and when any expression of sympathy for the Union was sure to meet fierce scorn, or self-complacent derision in the House of Commons, as well as on every 'Change,' throughout the country, they never wavered in their firm faith in its ultimate triumph."

So all thanks to these patient-waiting, long-suffering, true-hearted friends of freedom. They had struggled for themselves in a just cause, that of their own liberation from the bondage of inordinate labor, and having achieved that victory, were ready to give cheer to those whose struggles were for the

permanence of the institutions of freedom in another land; and this, too, in the midst of their all but unprecedented personal and household calamities.

The ten hour bill passed the Commons on the 17th of March, 1847, by a majority of 78 in a house of 210; and it ought to be added, that 922 factory masters, representing much wealth and influence, forwarded petitions in its favor.

In the House of Lords, the bill made rapid progress under the charge of the Earl of Ellesmere and Lord Feversham. It passed its last stage on the 1st of June, 1847, and received the assent of the queen on the 8th of June.

It may here be added, that in 1830, the exports of cotton goods and yarns from England were valued at. £19,500,000, and in 1860, they were valued at £53,000,000; that the population of Lancashire, the great manufacturing county, was in 1831, 1,337,000; in 1861 it had increased to 2,500,000, of whom 450,000 were employed in cotton factories. That in the United Kingdom, in 1835, there were employed 356,684, of whom 167,696 were females, and 46,071 were children between eight and thirteen years of age; that in 1856, 682,517 persons were so employed, of whom 387,826 were females, and 56,455 were children, between the above ages. The increase of workers was 92 per cent.; that of females alone 131 per cent.; that of children, about 8 per cent., and yet all the diseases alleged by eminent surgeons and physicians to have been peculiar and specific in factory labor in 1822, *have disappeared*.

The following table, comparing the years 1830 and 1838, *before* the Ten-Hour Law, with the year 1860, *since* the law, is instructive:—

IN ENGLAND.	1838.	1860.
Number of factories,	4,217	6,378
Motive power, (1850,) horse power,	50,286	205,827
Number of operatives,	364,684	775,534
Cotton imported, cwt.,	5,000,000	12,419,000
Yards produced, (1830,)	914,773,563	4,431,281,728
Value of cotton exports,	£24,550,000	£53,000,000

These exports reached £57,254,845 in 1865, and £74,565,426 in 1866.

Before any factory Act, but few children had any opportunity of attending school, while for the last thirty years, every child under thirteen works for only half a day, and attends school three hours on the same day all the year round. Mr. E. D. J. Wilks, Secretary of the School Society, in a paper read before the Social Science Association at Bradford, in 1859, declared that upon long and extensive observation, he had no hesitation in saying that the influence of the education provision, had been most excellent, and that NONE OF THE EVILS PREDICTED HAD BEEN REALIZED; and Mr. Edwin Chadwick, an earnest advocate of half-time schools for factory children, declared at Glasgow in 1860, "that the half-timers in three hours, eventually obtained as much book instruction as children in the ordinary time of six and five hours, and were really more apt than the latter, under the same teachers and the same system." The reason is to be found in the increased earnestness and zeal of the half-timers, and in the fact that to them, school is a sort of recreation, while to the long-timers, the last hours of the afternoon are really exhausting of both body and mind.

The testimony of all impartial persons, *even including original opponents of the ten hour Act*, goes to show that the "manufacturing masses have proved themselves worthy of the boon bestowed upon them. They have not abused the gift; their intelligence has increased; their habits have improved; their social happiness has advanced; they have gained all, and more, than all, they expected from legislation, and they have not been intoxicated with success." "The intelligence, subordination to authority, and the general tone and bearing of the operative, have kept pace with the advancement of the age." And if it be replied that nevertheless, as a class, they are not in the most desirable condition, physically, morally or educationally, the rejoinder would be justifiable, that it takes a long time to undo the mischievous influence of a long entailed bad system, and that they, as well as the rest of the world of workers, suffer under the evils of the existing systems.

Mr. Ludlow (in "Progress of Working Classes") observes, that the most remarkable result of factory legislation has been its influence upon employers. It has made friends out of some of its most violent foes, and persistent opponents. They cordially accept it, and are generally the foremost advocates of

improvement, promoting the erection of additional factories, of schools, the establishment of educational institutions, of parks, baths and wash-houses for the express use of their employés. "It would scarce be too much to say that the humble factory worker, through his perseverance in securing just legislation, has been the civilizer and moralizer of his employer."

Similar results are developing themselves in other departments of labor to which protective legislation has been applied, showing that it in no wise hinders the results of industrial activity. In 1841, there were employed in the British coal mines, 118,233 miners, and in 1861, there were 235,590. In 1853, there were 2,397 collieries, and in 1862, there were 3,088, producing 83,635,214 tons of coal, of the value of £21,000,000. In 1867, there were 307,000 coal miners, who mined 98,150,583 tons of coal, an increase of over five per cent. The colliers are probably the most ignorant class of persons in Great Britain, but they have shown in their petitions to Parliament, that they are sensible of their wretched condition, and desirous of betterment; that grateful for the prohibition of the working of females and young children under ten years of age from labor in the coal-mines, and for the establishment of inspectors of collieries, they further ask for the establishment of training schools, and that some legal provision may be made that boys between ten and fourteen years old, employed more than eight hours a day, may have proper opportunity for education. They further asked that the half-time school provisions of the Factory Act might be extended to the miners. They were accordingly embodied in Mr. Clive's bill of 1860, but struck out by the Lords,* under the opposition of the mining masters.

Summing up this brief historical sketch of labor and legislation thereon, and bringing it as near our own day as documents in our possession enable us to do, it seems that previous to the suppression of the monasteries, (time of Henry VIII.,) the maintenance and aid of the poor were mainly by these religious houses. Previously to that, under the system of villenage, it could not be said that there were any general poor, the master and the lord of the manor taking care of their laborers during their whole lives, as in our Southern States during slavery, the owners took care of

* Some of the "Lords," are owners of mines.

their slaves, so that in the South there were no poorhouses. The endowments of the monasteries were, in most cases, under their charters, and in all by statute of Edward I., 1306, to be expended in helping the poor. When these establishments were suppressed, their inmates scattered and reduced to poverty themselves, their property either thrust into the privy purse of the great plunderer himself, or divided among his courtiers, then the poor lost homes and help, and, becoming vagrants at first, soon became houseless vagabonds, "sturdy rogues" and "lusty thieves," and as such, under penal statute, became candidates for the lash, the pillory, the stocks, the prison, and the gallows. The same punitive measures for the same alleged crimes were continued, until Elizabeth, having become firmly seated on the throne, a new system was inaugurated. In the forty-third year of her reign, it was provided that a fund should be raised in each parish, out of which material should be purchased on which to employ the able poor at labor for their support, while the impotent poor should be helped and supported. The churchwardens in these parishes, with some other properly qualified persons, were to act as overseers of the poor. The system worked pretty well, and the vagrancy, the vagabondism and roguery measurably disappeared, and stocks, pillory, and gallows became less common.

As this system progressed its defects and advantages became manifest, and new regulations were added to old ones amended, so that the law of removal from one parish to another, took the better form of compelling help to a person in want, and it was provided that the parish, where he was when his want ensued, should help him if he had therein paid rates, or worked as a laborer when able to support himself. The lapse of three centuries showing other imperfections even in this law of settlement, from various causes, but more especially in creating and establishing a class of persons in society distinctly recognized as paupers, an enactment took form in the fifth year of William IV., (1834) requiring that no relief should be given to any persons outside of workhouses, and to effect this in parishes too small to have each its own workhouse, several of those conveniently situated were joined together by the name of Unions, and under the control of a board known as Guardians of the Poor, and these are made accountable to the poor-law commis-

sioners, two in number, of whom the chief is usually a member of the Privy Council, and must possess a seat in the House of Commons. More recent legislation has permitted outside relief at the home of the pauper.

And such is what we called the terminal position in our day of legislation for the impotent poor. The introduction and wide spread of manufactures of the most varied kinds, and the unspeakable abuses that grew out of very many of them, specially those in the cotton business, called forth, and after long contest, secured a different kind of legislation, a legislation founded on the immovable basis of the just claims and rights of humanity. The ruling of the judges of England was, that "Christianity is part and parcel of the laws of England," and it was the current belief of the legislators, that their acts should be based on Christianity, and that the arrangements of the internal industry of the country should be subjected to Christianity." As is well said by Mr. Ludlow, in his comparison of the status of the laborers of England in 1832 and 1867, that "the reform Acts of 1832 found our mines and collieries worked in a great measure, by women and children, those degraded, and these crushed by the labor. In 1867, we see female labor underground absolutely prohibited, as well as boy labor, (unless educated,) either in coal, or connected iron-stone mines, under ten years of age; otherwise, both in these and in all other mines, under twelve; and here a *system of inspection* is at work, powerfully aided by the independent action of the workers themselves. The reform Acts of 1832 found our bakers and chimney-sweepers, almost without protection in purse, health, or safety; while in 1867 there is a vast code in existence which secures all three; and, although not sufficient in many respects, as the coasting trade is not included in its provisions, there is a great advance in public consideration for merchant seamen."

The reform Acts of 1832 found factory workers, under 21, in the cotton trade, only protected from night work between 8.30 P. M. and 5.30 A. M.; those under 18, restricted to nine hours labor on Saturday, and twelve hours on other working days; children under nine not to be employed. The year 1867 sees the workers in all textile fabrics, cotton, woollen, worsted, hemp, flax, tow, linen, silk, when worked under steam power,

enjoying the reduced hours of ten and a half a day, with a Saturday half-holiday after two o'clock, P. M. If children are allowed to work at eight years, provision is made for their education. Various other branches of industry have been brought, with slight variations of detail, into the same system, whilst *an efficient system of inspection* has been instituted to see the system carried out. This is the progress, and "let all men rejoice and be glad, and utter thanks."

AGRICULTURAL LABOR.

It needs now that protective legislation should extend its powerful arm over the laborers on the soil of England, as ignorant and degraded a race, if not the most so, that can be found in any land bearing the Christian name. Thomas Hood speaks of them as—

"Men with tanned, furrowed faces, and hairy, freckled hands, clad in fustian and leather, in velveteen and corduroy, glossy with wear and wet, soiled by brown clay and green moss, scratched and torn by brambles, wrinkled, warped, and threadbare with age. Their destitution is a naked, great fact. There are fathers with more children than shillings a week, mothers travelling literally in the straw, and infants starving before the parents' eyes. Human creatures there are, worried at once by winter, disease and want."

All these, powerless, and classed into the lowest degree of inferiority, without aspiration, and without aim of ambition, for there is no object that ambition, if they had any, could hope to reach, and so ambition has starved to death, all these live, if such living can be called life, just above pauperism, but dove-tailed into it, and yet are the very class that save all other classes from perishing, like the belly in Esop's celebrated fable, the safety of the whole body corporal.

Under date of the 10th of May, 1867, a commission was appointed by Queen Victoria, whose duty, in their commission, was defined to be "to inquire into and report upon the employment of children, young persons, and women in agriculture, for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent, and with what modifications, the principles of the factory acts can be adopted for the regulation of such employment, and especially with a view to the better education of such children." Under author-

ity given them, they selected five assistant commissioners, one of whom was the Rev. James Frazer, formerly of the Education and Schools Inquiry Commission, a gentleman well known here on a late visit to our educational establishments. Three others were fellows of All Souls College, Oxford, two of whom resigning, two others, graduates of Trinity College, Cambridge, were substituted. Their report, transmitted to the queen in October, 1868, is very full, consisting of 60 folio pages of report proper, and appendices, in two parts, containing an aggregate of 719 pages more, making 779 pages in all. The details are minute, to the utmost degree, and to gather from them precise information, such as would leave the mind of an inquirer satisfied that he had acquired some exactness of knowledge, is a matter of great difficulty. The leading subjects of inquiry were these, in substance.

1. Is the labor of children and young persons employed in agriculture, of that excessive kind which was found to exist in the factories and workshops, and which justified the legislature in placing them under regulation of hours of work and meal times?

2. Does the employment of females in agriculture have an injurious effect upon their morals, or their proper training for domestic duties? If so, would it be possible, regarding the demands for labor, and the pecuniary resources of the laborer, to apply restrictions to their employment.

3. What limitation of age should be applied to boys and girls employed in farm labor?

4. What amount of school attendance would it be justifiable to enforce for them?

In reply to No. 2, there is an almost entire unity of opinion, and that is, that the employment of females in agriculture has a decidedly bad moral influence upon them; "it makes them unfit for domestic duties, and they become the worst wives for agricultural laborers;" "in gleaning time they seem to forget all sense of propriety and decorum;" females engaged in agriculture become, "if married, rough and hard, careless of their children's training and of home duties, for which they have no heart when wearied out with the day's work; if unmarried, they are made bold in character, led into temptation from evil associations, and rendered unfit for household service." The

age of eighteen is generally recommended as the limit under which they should not be permitted to labor, excepting, perhaps at harvest and hay-times.

Upon questions Nos. 3 and 4, it would seem that ten years—very many say twelve—for boys, and eighteen for girls, is the lowest age at which they should be permitted to do any kind of field work, with a previous schooling of the boys up to that age, with issue of certificate that the lad was versed in reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic, and might be put to work. The objections to the “certificate,” however, are stated to be very grave, and a system of school registration is recommended by many. The custom of employing females on farm work is stated to have decreased, “not a tithe of the number being employed that were so twenty years ago.” Mr. Frazer thought that “girls between twelve and sixteen might be employed in the summer months if they worked in company with their mothers.”

The Report says, that “the evidence collected will be found to have materially advanced the questions towards their solution, but that any attempt to draw general conclusions from them would be premature.” The study of the testimony confirms this remark, yet, in the general, it will appear that agricultural labor differs so widely from factory labor, and the conditions of such labor differ themselves so much in various counties, that it would be exceeding difficult to bring the principles of the factory Acts in regard to hours of labor, into uniformity of action.

No definite legislation, so far as we can learn, has yet taken place in these matters, but earnest attention is called to the wretched condition of most of the cottages of the agricultural laborers, and to the continued evils of the “gang system.”

It may be here stated that the half-time system of factory-children’s schools existing in England has been voluntarily adopted by Hon C. Paget, M. P. for Nottingham, at his estate in Ruddington, and that in his testimony before the parliamentary education committee, he declared the system a success, and that it made its way on the part of the people by its own merits. He employed no lad who would not go to school on alternate days. One cannot refrain from the conclusion, after reading the reports from which these very spare gleanings are

made, that in all intellectual matters, the field laborers of England are mere children in contrast with the grand race of men who till the soil of New England, and own the soil they till. And the reason is found easily and at once, springing up in everybody's mind spontaneously. EDUCATION has made men of the latter, and the neglect of it has kept the former in a dwarfed childhood. Here we have the two, and the cause of their differing, and the duty pointed out by this difference is clear as the sun. Educate at any rate, educate at any cost, educate at all hazards, no matter "who chafes, who frets, or where conspirers are," educate the laborer, whatever his occupation, and so save him, and preserve the republic.

Educate, not with the one solitary idea so often set forth by committees of schools and boards of education, that education may help a body to get "on and up" in the world, for the time is to come, when everybody will be "on and up" in the world. But educate so that wherever a man may find himself at any given time in his life-journey, he may dwell there pleasantly to himself and household, and profitably to the world by example and effort, and this in every vocation, whether called on to go "up" higher or to go "down" lower, as the world calls places, remembering that when the things of earth and social life are right, these terms will become obsolete.

In this sketch of legislation, we have omitted to give the history of friendly societies, trades-unions, and coöperative enterprises, because of lack of time and space. Their history alone, fills volumes of English literature and parliamentary documents.

These societies have been, and are, in England, what political parties are in this country; wielding great influences not only on the trades, but upon social movements generally. They are the educators of the English masses, and in them are found men who, if citizens of our country, would be leaders of parties, members of legislatures, State and National.

In another part of the Report we shall give a few facts connected with them.

LABOR AND LEGISLATION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The question is a very obvious and natural one, that we should be asked why we have given so much space to the sub-

ject of labor in England, and why we have devoted so much research in looking up the history of their poor, and of the legislation connected with their progress, when our own poor, our own laborers, and our own wealth-producing classes, of all degrees, are the special subjects committed to our investigation and inquiry? The reply is, that the history of the former is the history of our own productive classes, down to the beginning of the seventeenth century, if no later; and that out of the pretty abundant historical material existing, details of deep interest are supplied, full of warning to us, and full of instructive guidance. Her systems of work and of wage, present their unfortunate results, and we see them in the poverty of her producers, and in the vast army of her beggars, and the grim squadrons of her criminals. And there are too many points of resemblance between the mother country and our own, to be acceptable to even the mildest philanthropy. *Here*, as well as there, will be found, in the labyrinthal slums of cities, in narrow courts, dark lanes, and nasty alleys, wretched tenements, with small rooms, dismal, dark, unventilated, into which the sun, God's free gift, never sends a shimmering ray; packed full of men, women, and children, as thick as smoked herrings in a grocer's box. Here they breed, here they live (!), and here they die, with their half-starved, ill-clad children—death's daily dish, with typhus, and scarlet fever, and cholera for his butchers;—and these festering sties, owned by gentlemen of fortune, "who live at home at ease," and whose gold is of the sweat of their tenant's brow, in a rental of fifteen to twenty per cent., *paid in advance!* In such dens, if a horse were kept, the society for the suppression of cruelty to animals, should look after his owner.

And, besides this, the poor and the productive classes of Europe, by hundreds of thousands, have been, and are now coming to our shores, with fixed habits and modes of life. These now constitute, mainly, the army of our unskilled laborers, are ignorant and degraded, pitifully so, and are the persons, almost exclusively, who congregate, from the necessity of poverty, in these sickening kennels. How came they to be reduced to this lowness of miserable ignorance and wretchedness of life? It is a fearful question for their country to answer. But whatever may be the varied causes alleged, it is very cer-

tain that now they are with us and of us, they and their children, we must not neglect the admonitory voice of their history for long centuries,—that we prevent the permanence of similar causes here, and lift them up to a better life. But that better life they will never know, so long as culture is neglected, mind and body both starved, and while methods of business exist which always, as they have done heretofore, rake all wealth into one corner, and leave all the others bare. The aggregate wealth of England is every year growing greater, but it is growing greater in few hands, and half her people are hopelessly poor, and hosts of these festering in pauperism and vice. No country gives promise of so rapid growth in riches as ours, and there is peril, too fearful to be ignored, that poverty and pauperism will march in side by side with wealth, unless a system be adopted that shall secure a more equal distribution thereof. No poor man can, either there or here, we believe it safe to say it, as a general rule, live on the fruit of his labor without debt. No worker can there buy land, even had he spare money enough to do it, for land is there the monopoly of the few, and those few the very rich ; and here the enormous grants of land in the new regions, may lead to the same result, and even worse, if it be held by monstrous corporate power, as a great deal of it is held, under congressional grant.

There are, indeed, and we desire to be grateful therefor, protective elements here, which will, at any rate for a time, ward off, perhaps even prevent, the direful evils we have depicted. These are the newness of our nationality, the freedom of our institutions, the extent of our territory, the cheapness of land in the unsettled States and Territories, the absence of laws of primogeniture and entail, and the equal subdivision of property of the parent among his children ; the extent of the right of ballot, so that the productive classes may secure representation and a voice in the government, and the general education provided for all classes of our people. Mighty protections are these,—generous gifts of a beneficent Providence. May they be perpetuated, and by us kept in permanent, intense influence for our children.

No immense wealth had its representative, either corporate or private, among the first emigrants to America. And, although there were poor men, and there was among

them a very even distribution of means, there was no poverty, and no want, except for a short period preceding their getting at work upon the soil. Their first acts, when shelter had been provided within rude huts for the household, were acts of tillage. They were agriculturists, and so their children continued to be, as the general rule, for many years; and we believe the influence of that employment to be most favorable in preservation of the free institutions of the land, the agriculturists of all degrees being freemen, and slavery in every form, (and it has many,) wholly absent. Their next employment was the "pillage of the deep seas," in the dangerous business of the fisheries, and this business has always had in it a right element, that of partnership.

As in England, before the establishment of the system of great factories, the spinning-wheel, the distaff, and hand-loom did all the small work of preparing the plain clothing of the families, their more elaborate and costly articles being imported from England, the mother country monopolizing the supply of manufactured goods, and permitting none to her colonies. We are aware of no manufacturing here till after the revolution.

In 1787 a company was formed in Philadelphia for the manufacture of cotton goods, and the attempt to spin cotton-yarn by machinery was made at Beverly, and Bridgewater, Massachusetts, in the same year. The Beverly Company having expended £4,000, and losing half of it, were aided by the legislature in the sum of £1,000, "to be expended in promoting the manufacturing of cotton goods in the Commonwealth." From Massachusetts, manufactures extended into Rhode Island, both States being indebted to foreign emigrants for assistance and instruction in preparing the cotton, and in spinning and weaving. All the early attempts failed, not for want of enterprise, or exertion, capital or government patronage, but because the superior machinery and practical experience of Great Britain defied all rivalry, and because, moreover, she would not permit the exportation of machinery. Nor was it till the time of the coming of Mr. Slater from England, that any real success was inaugurated in this branch of business. Other manufactures followed in all departments, so that now New England is the great manufacturing region of the United States, and its people have comparatively ceased to be an agricultural people.

The earliest operatives in our mills were of the home population,—an active, intelligent, industrious, thrifty, well-educated, orderly and cleanly body of young men and women. Children under fifteen years of age were very seldom found in our factories. The system of long hours was first adopted, as in England, and the operatives went to work before breakfast. For this meal thirty minutes were allowed, and for dinner forty-five. The general length of time per day, was 14 or 15 hours. In the best conducted establishments, a system of boarding-houses was adopted, which was favorable till overcrowded in recent years, and is now continued, under charge of discreet and respectable householders. In all cases where this method prevailed, the early operatives were of a better class, and better fed, and better lodged. In most manufacturing towns, however, until recently, the work-people have taken care of themselves, boarding and lodging wherever they could find accommodations.

About the year 1836 to 1840, very material changes took place among the operatives, as well as among the farm laborers, and the general laboring help in all departments of industry. The profuse immigrations from Ireland, thousands forsaking their homes to find new ones in a more favored country, crowded into all the fields of labor, and crowded out the former occupants. Under the prejudice of nationality, and the decrease of native help, the American element, the daughters of independent farmers, educated in our common schools, (for years they supplied a periodical with articles written wholly by themselves,) and who could think and act for themselves, who knew right from wrong, fair treatment from oppression, and who would be grateful for the one, and would not submit to the other,—these retired from mill and factory, and all the older establishments, and can no longer be found therein. Their places were taken up in the old, and all the new were filled by the new immigrants. In fact, without doubt, but for this supply, the new and larger establishments could not have been operated, the American element being by no means adequate to supply the great numbers required. The opening out of other branches of industry, specially of the shoe and leather trades, made also heavy demands on the new laborers, while thousands of them found employment in the construction of canals and

railroads. But in later years, the Irish element is falling off, and its place is becoming occupied by a new class of work-people,—the French Canadians,—who are coming into New England and New York, by thousands of families, and making permanent settlement among us.

ORIGIN OF LABOR MOVEMENT.

One of the earliest demands made was for a diminution of the hours of labor to ten per day. The customary time had been from sunrise to sunset, which, in one-half of the year, would give from sixteen to twelve hours, and in the other half, from nine hours to twelve. This demand was made by the building trades mainly, and was the outgrowth of the thought of men who, under education, had become thinkers and reasoners, and who, as such, considered and debated on matters of political and social economies, and who were fair representatives of the class of men demanded and evoked by our system of government. And here we may add that it is the legitimate influence of education to create such men, and is the best argument in its defence. As civilization advances, and Christianity is more truly and fairly enunciated, and better understood, thought and culture will become more pressing necessities, and the demand for more time for such culture more urgent. So then, thought and reason will educe the capabilities of even inanimate and drudgery-saving machinery, until educated to its most productive capacity, it will come to the aid of its educator, and by bearing his load and abridging his labor, save him for higher aims and nobler ends, and then machinery will become labor-saving to the laborer, instead of as now, money-saving and money-making to the capitalist.

Our narrow limit of time for inquiry, and the fact that the legislative and historical details of the question of labor had not assumed a written form, rendered it necessary for us to ask the aid of some party, who had heretofore more fully examined the subject in these respects. We accordingly, following a suggestion originating from a perusal of the "Report of the Commissioners on the Hours of Labor," appointed under chapter 92, Resolves of 1866, requested Mr. E. H. Rogers, a member of that commission, to furnish us with such facts as were at his command, and these, together with such matter as was in our own

possession, are incorporated hereinafter. Regretting the scantiness of present material, we hope to supply more extensive information at a later day.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIAL QUESTIONS.

The general agitation of questions of labor in the New England States has been ascertained, by personal inquiry among aged men, to have begun as early as the year 1825. The lecture of Edward Everett before the Charlestown Lyceum, in 1830, alluded to on page 53 of the report of the second Commission, (House Doc. 44, 1867,) affords internal evidence that public opinion, to a certain extent, recognized the movement. This lecture is to be found in pamphlet form in the Athenæum Library. The 51st page of the reports of the same Commission has a note referring to a convention held in the State House at Boston, in September, 1832; from the manuscripts there mentioned, the following abstract has been made:—

Boston, September 6, 1832.

Agreeable to the adjournment of the first meeting of the New England Association of farmers, mechanics and other workingmen, held at Boston on the 16th of February, 1831, delegates from workingmen in various parts of New England, assembled at the Representatives' Chamber of the State House in Boston, on the 6th of September 1832, at nine o'clock, A. M.

President.—Charles Douglas, of New London, Ct. *Secretaries.*—George W. Light, of Boston; Thomas Doyle, of Providence.

The credentials of seventy-three delegates are now in existence; all the New England States, except Vermont, are represented; one name from Troy, N. Y., appears on the proceedings. The city of Boston chose thirty delegates; among them are the names of gentlemen who afterwards became widely and honorably known: Billings Briggs, Timo. Claxton, Geo. W. Light, Wm. R. Stacey, Ruggles Slack, father of the present editor of the "Boston Commonwealth;" Samuel Bassett, present city clerk of Chelsea; William D. Swan and Col. J. P. Clapp, of Dorchester; Ebenezer Seaver, of Roxbury, and others.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Mr. Taylor, who was afterwards invited to take a seat in the convention.

After the meeting was temporarily organized, a committee was chosen to report business proper for the immediate action of the convention. This committee submitted ten points for consideration.

1. Organization throughout New England, with a central committee for each State.

2. A cheap and simple plan for the institution of lyceums, or institutes.

3. A reform in the present militia system, so as to make it less burdensome to the laboring classes.

4. Consideration of the expediency of a national convention of workingmen.

5. The consideration of the ten hour system, and whether it is expedient for this convention to make its adoption by their associates indispensable, or to leave it to the discretion of the various associations in New England.

6. The effect of banking institutions, and other monopolies on the condition of the laboring classes.

7. The improvement of the present system of education among the people, and particularly the recommendation of such legislative enactments in relation to the internal economy of factories, as will insure to the operatives therein a competent degree of instruction, corresponding to that already enforced throughout New England by its ancient and approved system of school legislation.

8. The expediency of recommending the abolition of imprisonment for debt, and the adoption of a national bankrupt law.

9. The extension of the right of suffrage in States where the people are now denied its essential privileges.

10. The expediency of a lien law in favor of journeymen mechanics.

Special committees were appointed on a constitution, official organ; resolutions expressive of the views of the convention on the leading topics of consideration, landed interest, taxation, coöperative trading, report of the doings of the convention, for the press, and to prepare an address to the workingmen of New England.

The constitution which was adopted is brief. It provides for an annual meeting to be held on the first Wednesday in September, and defines the duties of officers. Reports were accepted against imprisonment for debt, and also the militia system, and

in favor of a lien law. The report of the committee on an official organ, recognizes the existence of a paper called the "New England Artisan," where located is not stated, but its removal to Boston is called for. No action was taken.

Two reports appear from the committee on coöperative trading, one urging action, the other consideration. There is no account of their disposition.

So far as appears by the existing records, action on all the other points was deferred, with the exception of the committee on an address to the workingmen, who, at the close of the proceedings of the convention on Saturday P. M., reported as follows:—

This committee are of opinion that the address of the president, and of Mr. Eldridge, are so expressive of the views of the convention, and of its constituents, as to render any further communication supererogatory.

A brief recapitulation of the evils for which a remedy has been sought, and of the means which are relied on to obviate them, is all that will be deemed obligatory. These evils may be easily summed up. They arise from the moral obliquity of the fastidious, and the cupidity of the avaricious. They consist in an illiberal opinion of the worth and rights of the laboring classes; an unjust estimation of their moral, intellectual and physical powers; an unwise misapprehension of the effects which would result from the cultivation of their minds, and the improvement of their condition; and an avaricious propensity to avail of their laborious services at the lowest possible rate of wages for which they can be induced to work.

The remedies which are relied on to correct these misapprehensions, and reform these abuses, are the organization of the whole laboring population of this united republic, into an association for this purpose; the separation of questions of political morality and economy, from the more personal and party contests of the day; a general diffusion of light by the presentation of facts to the consideration of all good men and faithful citizens; the selection from among the politicians of the respective parties to which workingmen may happen to belong, of those as objects of our preference whose moral character, personal habits, relations and employments, as well as professions, afford us the best guarantee of their disposition to revise our social and political system, and to introduce these improvements called for by us, and demanded by the spirit of the age.

To this we shall add our fixed determination to persevere till our wrongs are redressed; and to imbue the minds of our offspring with a spirit of abhorrence for the usurpations of aristocracy, and of resistance to their oppressions, so invincible, that they shall dedicate their lives to a completion of the work which their ancestors commenced in their struggle for *national*, and their sires have continued in their contest for *personal independence*!

The address of the president does not appear to have been preserved. The other, delivered by Mr. John B. Eldridge of Chicopee, a delegate to the convention, accompanies the records, and is a well-written document of nine pages, so compact, as not to admit readily of abridgment. Its points are made in the direction of union among the laboring classes, universal suffrage, and education.

During the sitting of the convention, the president read a letter from the workingmen of the city of New York, to the workingmen of the United States; there is no statement of its contents. The convention chose its officers for the ensuing year, and appears to have adjourned late on Saturday, the 8th of September. No account has been discovered of the meeting of the convention in the next year, but the item from the "Boston Post," given at the foot of the 55th page of the report of the second Commission, evidently refers to the annual meeting of the same organization at Northampton, in September, 1834.

The address of Robert Rantoul to the workingmen of the United States, published in the workingmen's library in the year 1833, and republished in his memoirs, contains the following statements of the views held by him at that time, and are interesting as coming from an earnest friend of the working classes:—

"We have a right to sell our time for ten hours every day, for twelve, for fifteen, for more or for less, to anybody that will buy it. But if we offer to contract to labor ten hours a day, and nobody wants less than twelve, we must not wonder that nobody accepts our offer. We have carried into the market a commodity that is not salable, and we cannot force people to buy it. Still less can we complain if those who are willing to buy ten hours, refuse to give us the price of twelve. An hour's labor is a marketable article, having certain prices according to quality, and we might as well

find fault with the broker, because when we carry him ten doubloons we cannot obtain for them the price of twelve. * * * And now I anticipate a difficulty which is arising in the mind of many of my friends. How can we improve our education, you say, when we have no time left, after providing for our families? You are mistaken, my friends. Benjamin Franklin found time enough. Be frugal of your time, and you have enough for all uses. After deducting the time necessary for sleep, for meals and recreation, you may have sixteen hours left to dispose of; can you not in one year, laboring twelve hours, and devoting four hours a day to studying the principles and rules of your trade, so improve your judgment and skill, that twelve hours of your labor will be worth more, and yield you more than sixteen hours now?"

It seems hardly credible, that such inadequate conceptions of the conditions of the working classes, and the principles controlling their wages, could have been held by one of their friends, even at that early period of the industrial discussion. The true aspects of Mr. Rantoul's character and views, are to be found in the account in the same volume, of his proceedings in what is known as the "Journeyman Bootmakers Case," in which he—

"Succeeded in obtaining one of the completest triumphs that it ever fell to the lot of an American lawyer to achieve. The defendants were charged with having entered into a combination to compel by force of numbers and discipline, and by imposition of fines and penalties, other journeymen to join their society, and masters to employ none but members." * * * * "This is an unlawful conspiracy at common law in Massachusetts. * * * * "The trial of the boot-makers came off before the Boston municipal court, at the October term, 1840. Mr. Rantoul held and established, that the conduct of the defendants had not been unlawful; and that, therefore, they could not, in law and justice, be convicted of a conspiracy to perform an unlawful act. What they had an undoubted right to do in their capacity as individuals, that they had a right to do as a combination as individuals. A conspiracy to raise wages, said Mr. Rantoul, could not be indictable in England, if it were not unlawful there for an individual to attempt to raise his wages. * * * * "The court ruled against the defendants, and the jury found them guilty."

"The defendants took several exceptions to the ruling of the

judge (Thacher,) and the case was carried up to the Supreme Court. Action was had on it at the March term of that court in 1842.

* * * * "The court maintained the exceptions after a long train of reasoning and arrested the judgment."

"This decision was final, so far as Massachusetts is concerned. Mr. Rantoul won much applause from the singularly able manner in which he fought the battle in behalf of sound principles, and from his obtaining a victory in the face of influences almost overpowering in their character."

The two interests of republicanism and aristocracy, seem to have marshalled their forces for fresh conflicts at the beginning of the decade following the year 1830. While the trades were deliberating at the State House, nullification was rampant in South Carolina; its celebrated convention was held in December, 1832. Labor obtained during the ensuing years, local and partial relief from some of its heaviest burdens, by which its condition has been sensibly meliorated; these benefits took a national form in the ten hour order for the public works, issued by Martin Van Buren.

Extract from General Orders for the regulation of the Navy Yard, Washington, D. C.

NAVY YARD, WASHINGTON, April 10, 1840.

"By direction of the President of the United States 'all public establishments' will hereafter be regulated, as to working hours, by the 'ten hour system.' The hours for labor in this yard will therefore be as follows, viz.: From the first day of April to the 30th day of September, inclusive, from six o'clock A. M., to six o'clock P. M. During this period, the workmen will breakfast before going to work, for which purpose the bell will be rung, and the first muster held at 7 o'clock A. M. At twelve o'clock, noon, the bell will be rung, and the hour from twelve to one o'clock allowed for dinner, from which hour to 6 o'clock, P. M., will constitute the last half of the day.

"From the last day of October, to the 31st day of March, the working hours will be from the rising to the setting of the sun. The bell will then be rung at one hour after sunrise, that hour being allowed for breakfast. At 12 o'clock, noon, the bell will again be rung, and one hour allowed for dinner, from which time, say one o'clock, till sundown, will constitute the last half of the day. No quarters of days will be allowed."

This order had the effect of causing outside ship-yards and workshops to adopt the same time, until it became the general rule, *excepting in manufacturing establishments*, where tender women, growing youths, and young children, were employed during long hours; and it seemed to be thought, then, and is now thought, that these are capable of enduring an amount of confinement at monotonous work, that stalwart men ought not to encounter. These are now, as proved by returns received at this office, employed from sixty-six (66) to seventy-two (72) hours per week.

The adhesion of Robert Rantoul to the Free Soil party, a few years after the judicial decision we have recorded, indicates the inevitable drift of all reformatory effort at that time.

The aristocratic element of Southern society, unrestricted in its progress by any local opposition, pushed its scheme of nullification so boldly, as to draw down upon itself the concentrated power of the nation in the determined will of Andrew Jackson. Thwarted in its audacious effort, it grew politic, and matured in secret those schemes which required the lapse of a generation to develop in the events of the great rebellion.

Meanwhile labor in all its thoughtful element bided its time, and gave itself with earnest purpose to the preservation of national unity, conscious that all its hope of future progress depended upon the defeat of aristocracy, in the destruction of slavery. How complete this self-abnegation was, may be best shown by a paragraph from the "Travels of Anthony Trollope," 1861:—

"There is, I think, no taskmaster over free labor so exacting as an American. He knows nothing of hours, and seems to have that idea of a man which a lady always has of a horse. He thinks that he will go forever. And, moreover,—which astonished me,—I have seen men driven and hurried,—as it were forced forward at their work in a manner which to an English workman would be intolerable. This surprised me much, as it was at variance with our—or perhaps I should say with my—preconceived ideas as to American freedom. I had fancied that American citizens would not submit to be driven; that the spirit of the country, if not the spirit of the individual, would have made it impossible. I thought that the shoe would have pinched on the other foot. But I found

that such driving did exist; and American masters with whom I had an opportunity of discussing the subject all admitted it."

A determined effort on the part of the factory operatives of the State to abridge the extreme hours — thirteen in summer of the early times — seems to have been followed up with more than usual pertinacity; it shows itself in the documents of many successive legislatures, and, though unsuccessful in the desire to obtain the ten-hour day, was so far effective as to compel in practice a daily reduction of two hours. This agitation appears to have begun in 1845, ending in 1852. During its progress it engaged the support and open advocacy of William Claflin, the present governor of the State, of Henry Wilson, Benjamin F. Butler, N. P. Banks, and has left upon record the interesting and able reports of William S. Robinson, then a member of the House, — now, and for some years past, its Clerk, — and also of Hon. James M. Stone. (House Docs., 185 and 153; years, 1852 and 1850.)

It is understood that a public sentiment was created, which seemed likely to enforce the demand for a compulsory ten-hour law for corporations, and that in view of this a compromise was made resulting in the present usage of sixty-six hours per week.

Extensive trade disturbances followed, in 1853, the rise in the price of commodities incidental to the discovery of gold. A formidable strike occurred in the shoe trade during the year 1857. This was accompanied, in the city of Lynn, with more than the usual amount of personal feeling, and threatened for a time the most serious consequences.

Year by year, as the events of the times matured, large accessions were made to the ranks of Republicanism from the laboring masses. The crowning acts of open rebellion swept over to the dominant party a majority of those interests which are identified with wealth and culture.

The large issues of paper which were required to carry on the war caused marked inflations of value. The inflexible conditions of wages prevented the adjustment of income to expenses, and bore heavily on the laboring community. Discontent was excited by the prosperity and luxury of the moneyed and trading classes. Organization among the building trades in all the large towns and cities ensued. Strikes were dis-

couraged. For a year or more the most intense earnestness, accompanied by vehement debate, characterized the proceedings of the Unions; the interest of their discussions turned upon the causes of the depressed condition of labor, and its remedy.

Finally the eight-hour-day, after an opposition hardly paralleled by the uncereemonious treatment it has since received from influential interests in society, commanded nearly an unanimous approval. It was regarded as practical, because it was known to be in harmonious operation in extensive trades in Australia, California, and in our own cities. It was further urged as comprehensive, inasmuch as it was seen that it would liberate a larger number of influences for good than any other measure which was proposed, and by its force as an educator, in connection with the institutions and customs rendered feasible by its conditions, would ultimately so develop character and ability as to render coöperation practicable.

These developments bring us to the year 1865. The trade organizations were ready for public action, but the war was still pending, and moderate councils prevailed. On the eighth day of March, 1865, Major John W. Mahan, a member of the House of Representatives from Boston, offered — so far as is known, entirely on his own responsibility — the following Order: —

Ordered, That the Judiciary Committee consider the expediency of regulating and limiting the number of hours constituting a day's labor, and of making it a penal offence for any employer to require an employé to labor beyond such number of hours as may be prescribed by law.

(The order contained, also, a clause against combinations by dealers to advance the price of the necessities of life.)

March 13, this order and petitions to the same effect were reported back with a recommendation that they be referred to a joint special committee; on the 15th of March this Committee was appointed; on the 29th of April the Committee reported by its Chairman, on the part of the House, Mr. Edward H. Rogers of Chelsea, a Resolve asking for the appointment of an unpaid Commission of five to investigate the subject of the

Hours of Labor ; accompanying the Resolve was a Report written by one of its members, on the part of the Senate, Hon. Martin Griffin of Boston, of which the following extract gives a concise view of the investigations before the Committee, and their results :—

“In the hearings before our Committee, the testimony and the demand was unanimous for a still further decrease of the hours of labor ; praying for a limitation, by law, of eight hours, as a legal day’s labor. It will thus be seen that this movement is progressive, or, as some may think, aggressive. Already, in this country, some four hours have been stricken from daily toil ; and yet it is now sought to still further trench upon the industry of the community, by taking from it two hours of time and production. Will the industry of the land bear this ? The testimony of those who appeared before us, and who represented and spoke the sentiments of thousands of their fellow craftsmen, demonstrated, to our satisfaction, that not only could the productive industry of the country bear this, but even more than this. Nay, more, they claim that it will add to the productive industry, producing a greater quantity, and a better quality ; and they have produced weighty evidence from the experience of the past in support of it. From the evidence produced before the Committee, we are satisfied that not only will labor be benefited by the change, but capital also. It was shown by testimony of a very strong character, that many and great improvements were lost to industry and wealth by an absolute want of time on the part of mechanics to develop inventions and improvements, which would be of incalculable value to the world. The unanimous testimony of every person who appeared before the Committee, some thirty or forty witnesses, some of whom were representatives of classes of industry, was, that instead of this change of time being a loss or injury to industry or wealth, it would be certain and speedy gain to both. From a careful consideration of the subject, your Committee have arrived at the same conclusion.

“But there is another view of the subject, which is even more important to us as a people, than the mere increase of wealth, or the perfection of the mechanic arts,—the protection, preservation and advancement of man. In this view, we feel that there is a solemn duty and responsibility resting upon us, and that we are called upon to atone for our apathy of the past by early and earnest action in the future. We have been surprised at the developments which the investigation has produced. No subject which has been before a committee of this legislature has elicited more important

facts, or awakened a more lively or general interest,—an interest of the most numerous class in the community, and one which has but too seldom, in our opinion, engaged the attention of our legislation,—the condition of our producing classes. In common with the great majority of the community, we have approached this subject with an entire ignorance of it; and in the belief that there was, nor could be, any need of investigation, much less of improvement or melioration in the condition of those whose labors have enriched us, and whose skill and genius in the arts have placed us in the vanguard of the nation. Investigation has dispelled this ignorance; and your Committee must bear testimony to the urgent necessity of action and reform in the matter. The evidence presented almost challenged belief. Certainly the Committee were astonished that, in the midst of progress and prosperity unparalleled; advancement in the arts and sciences; development in machinery for the saving of labor; progress in invention, and in the increase of wealth and material prosperity; yet MAN, the producer of all these—‘the first great cause of all,’ was the least of all, and least understood. The result of this prosperity of which we boast,—and which should be a blessing to us,—has a tendency to make the condition of the workingman little else than a machine, with no thought or aspiration higher, in the language of one of the witnesses, ‘than a slave; for,’ he added, ‘we are slaves; overworked, worn out and enfeebled by toil; with no time left us for improvement of mind or soul. Is it surprising that we are degraded and ignorant?’ Said another, ‘I have a son; and sooner than see him a mechanic, to suffer as I have; to toil worse than a slave, and with a low and degraded social standard, I would see him in his grave.’ This is the spirit and language of all who have appeared before us. It was painful to listen to the unanimous evidence, showing a steady demoralization of the men who are the bulwarks of our national life; painful to witness progress in that which is perishable, stagnation and decay in the imperishable and immortal,—man. And yet such was the evidence presented to us. Instead of that manly and sturdy independence which once distinguished the mechanic and the workingman, we have cringing servility and supineness. Instead of self-respect and intelligence, we have want of confidence and growing ignorance. Instead of honest pride in the dignity of labor, we have the consciousness of inferiority. Instead of a desire to enter the mechanic arts, we have loathing and disgust of their drudgery and degradation. Instead of labor being the patent of nobility, it is the badge of servitude.

“The Committee are constrained to say that, from a patient and

careful consideration of the subject, they are satisfied that if we would avert national calamity and decay, loss of industrial science and strength of execution, preserve the health, life and virtue of the people, secure to ourselves and transmit to our posterity the priceless blessings of liberty and self-government, we must awake to the importance of this subject; and if not in the spirit of philanthropy, at least for self-protection, do justice to it.

'Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and where men decay.'

"The subject is one of vast importance to the people of our Commonwealth. Important in every aspect in which it may be viewed; it is paramount, in our opinion, to any other subject which can claim the attention of thinking men; for upon its solution and settlement depend the best interests of the church, the state, and the individual man. The times in which we live, clothe this subject with a new and peculiar significance; while our institutions—their purity, preservation and perpetuation, demand of us an immediate and just investigation and recognition of its claims upon us as legislators and as men. The first duty of the state is to protect itself; to guard the interest of society, by suppressing that which is evil and detrimental; and protecting and fostering whatever will conduce to its prosperity. The state is composed of *men*, and the interest, progress and advancement of man is the foundation upon which the state rests. If the foundation is firm and solid, the structure is strong and enduring. Hence the first duty of the state is to recognize this great principle of manhood. Laid upon that foundation, the state is enduring and immortal."

The Resolve in favor of an unpaid commission was passed by the legislature and approved by Governor Andrew. The following gentlemen constituted the commission: William P. Tilden, Henry I. Bowditch, F. B. Sanborn, Elizur Wright, Geo. H. Snelling. Their report was made on February 7, 1866, and may be found on the files of that year as House Doc. No. 98.

The legislature of 1866, passed, on May 28, the following Resolve:—

"That a commission of three persons be appointed by the governor, on or before the first day of June next, with power to send for persons and papers, to investigate the subject of the hours of labor, especially in its relation to the social, educational and sanitary

condition of the industrial classes, and to the permanent prosperity of the productive interest of the State."

Under this Resolve Hon. Amasa Walker, and Messrs. William Hyde and Edward H. Rogers composed a commission, whose investigation by a majority report on the part of the two first named, and by the latter in a minority report, may be found in House Doc. No. 44, 1867.

The factory agitation of 1867 resulted in an Act which was approved May 29 of that year. Under the provision of this Act, General H. K. Oliver was appointed as a special State constable to enforce the provisions of the law; two annual reports made by him while acting in this capacity, contributed much to the development of the facts as they exist in our State.

On the 24th of June, 1868, the eight hour law, which had been introduced in Congress by General Banks early in the year, and had passed the House, was enacted in the Senate. It was inaugurated at the Charlestown Navy Yard, Monday morning, July 6.

In the spring of 1869 the workmen received official notice that their pay after a certain date would be reduced one-fifth; opportunity was given them to labor ten hours at the usual rate of wages. The government was desirous of increasing its force at the time, but found it impossible to obtain men who would comply with either of the terms it proposed. Meanwhile many of the employés withdrew. Relief from these complications was finally found in the following Proclamation by the President:—

WASHINGTON, May 21, 1869.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the Act of Congress, approved June 25th, 1868, constituted on and after that date, eight hours a day's work for all laborers, workmen and mechanics employed by or on behalf of the Government of the United States, and repealed all acts and parts of acts inconsistent therewith:

Now, therefore, I, Ulysses S. Grant, President of the United States, do hereby direct, that from and after this date, no reduction shall be made in the wages paid by the Government by the day to such laborers, workmen and mechanics, on account of such reduction of the hours of labor.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this nineteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, and of the independence of the United States the ninety-third.

(Signed)

U. S. GRANT.

By the President.

HAMILTON FISH, *Secretary of State.*

The state of chronic discontent of our factory operatives, shown by the renewal of the ten hour agitation ; the formation of the most formidable trade organization which the western continent has yet seen ; its demand for corporate powers ; the projection into politics of a distinctive party in the interests of labor ; and the centralization of colored labor in the proceedings of the National Labor Convention of Colored Men, indicate with startling distinctness the course of future events, and point to our country as the arena in which this, the greatest question of the ages in its relations to all other questions, if not in its essential character, is to be solved.*

FACTORY SYSTEM.

The history of labor, specially of manufacturing labor, both abroad and at home, teaches us, we think, very clearly, that no little evil threatens from aggregate and corporate wealth massed into power in immense establishments, under either individual authority, or under a nominal board of directors. We say a nominal board, for customarily such board interferes but little in the general management, and knows but little of its details. These are usually left to individual hands and an individual will, and in fact, such individual, however arbitrary, would in any act he might inaugurate, be sustained by the directory, on the general principles of discipline. So that the evils to be warded off are mainly those that are known to have originated wherever congregated labor is employed, and where, of necessity, for the purpose of order, discipline is introduced. Now discipline implies officials of different degrees of authority, with one or more controlling chiefs, to whom such officials are subordinated. Such a condition is found to have sprung up wherever the old forms of solitary work, as the home cloth-

* For a summary of industrial legislation in Massachusetts, see Appendix.

making, or the small, isolated shoe-shop, have given way to factories, with the motive-power of steam or waterfall.

Now, when the germs of coöperative labor, which are just swelling for growth, shall have ripened into fruit and fruition, which will come about through the added culture and improved condition attained by fewer hours for labor and more for thought, then this principle of graded overseeing will be needless, for every man, woman and child laboring, will be a law each unto himself, and each his own overseer,—doing right because it is right, and because it is easier to do right than to do wrong; and shunning wrong because it is wrong, and needs other wrong to boost it; and protective regard for the common weal will nourish, strengthen and secure the Commonwealth. The present method of overlooking grew out of the fact and necessity of congregated labor, which has in England, on the Continent, and here, led to an exactness and pressure of ruling that has caused, imperceptibly, it is true, naturally, it is true, it may possibly be said with equal truth, unavoidably, an exercise of supervisory power that hardened into tyranny, to a less extent here than abroad, specially in small and individual establishments; and where there is tyranny in any measure there will be and ought to be complaint. Flogging, and other punishments of children who might be behind time, or slack at work, or sleepy from fatigue, where the success of work beyond theirs depended upon their punctuality and promptness, a practice common in England and *not unknown here*;* closing of entrance gates with swift accordance to the clock, and consequent finings of fifteen to twenty per cent. of a day's pay; prohibition of visits by friends; systems of sharply ruled boarding-houses, and compulsory living therein; and the many other regulations incident thereto, will gradually disappear.

The effect of this system, in fact of almost every system of congregated labor, has been to prolong the hours of labor and to depreciate wages, competition demanding long time and low pay, so that husband, wife and children must all work to earn enough to sustain life, the mother, at times, leaving an infant of recent birth to the care of others, till its growth shall give it

* A witness described to us an instrument for whipping children at a factory in Rhode Island, consisting of a leather strap, 18 inches long, with tacks driven through the striking end.

strength to work, and to add to the general earnings of the family. Low pay compels all to help—and it is in the factory alone, in this country at least,—in establishments of congregated labor,—that we look to find women and children working, year in and year out. In agriculture, and the general mechanic arts, the *father* is the worker, and earning a sum equal, or nearly so, to the aggregated wages of husband, wife and child in the factory, gives his wife and child the advantages of home life and influence, and of education.

As Mr. King observes, in his letters to the “Boston Journal” (hereinafter more largely quoted):—

“Throughout France, in 1830, the working-class had begun to lose its self-respect, and to degenerate into the condition of serfs. Morals or manners were almost impossible. Home-life received a shock from which it has never recovered. The pitiful scanty sum which the workman received drove his wife also into the workshop, and then the fire on the hearthstone went out. Jules Simon, in his admirable work on ‘The Workwoman in France,’ ascribes the immorality of the country to the necessity which drove the wife and mother from home. * * * And supposing that the workman had a large family, nearly his whole day’s wages were exhausted in buying food. So it was clear that the mother and children must work in the factories also, and the holy principle of home must be forgotten, or a method must be found of increasing the resources of the father.”

In a later letter Mr. King says that,—

“Marriage is almost unknown to the workwoman of Lyons, and the city presents the singular phenomenon of a community where immorality is the rule, and where to be, in any degree, up to the level of family life, one must never work for a living. * * * All the manufacturers seem anxious to destroy family life, excepting Mr. Dollfus, the benefactor of Mulhouse, as they find that where it is undermined small salaries can be steadily paid, and the work-people are completely at the mercy of the employer.”

The introduction of the factory system into this country, which dates back nearly a century, originated an entire new class of laborers, to whom, as in England, the word “operative” has been applied, and of these operatives there cannot be now

fewer than 50,000,* (estimated,) in Massachusetts, men, women and children, being about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of her population of 1,388,000, (estimated 1870.) Now, it is beyond question, that whatever affects the "social, educational and sanitary condition" of so large a body of the wealth-producers of the State, imperatively demands the most thoughtful consideration of the State herself. As a matter of mere financial economy, if she find that they are overworked, and, consequently, that their productive energy is weakened, and so the products of that energy are diminished in quantity or quality, or both, and that her own wealth suffers thereby, she is bound to protect them against such overwork that she may protect herself. As a matter of social right, justice, and humanity, if she finds they are overworked, and that, consequently, they are in peril of social degradation, she is bound to protect them against such overwork, that she may not become herself socially degraded. If she finds that they are overworked, so that because of physical exhaustion, they are unfitted and unable to give time or attention to the attainment of such mental education as shall secure for them the possibility, at least, of some degree of culture and refinement, she is bound to protect them against such overwork, that she herself may not lose culture and refinement, and so fall below her proper rank as a true, and not a pretentious Christian Commonwealth. And all this is true in relation to all her toiling thousands. The welfare of her children in each and every avocation, is her own welfare. Never was mother more dependent on her children, nor children more largely entitled to a mother's protection. Their interest, happiness, and greatness are intertwined beyond all power of separation. They and the State are one.

"What constitutes a state?
Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned;
Not starred and spangled courts;
Not these, but men, *high-minded* men,
With power as far above dull brutes endowed
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;
Men who their duties know,
And knowing, dare maintain;
While sovereign law, the state's collected will,
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill."

* The Massachusetts census of 1865 gave them at 33,000. There were over 20,000 in Lowell, Lawrence and Fall-River in 1867.

Now men may be so unmanned and then embruted, that, like Canning's needy knifegrinder,* they shall know neither rights nor wrongs, and consequently shall be able neither to maintain the one, nor ward off the other. And if a State represses none of the ills that effect this emasculation, leaving her laboring children to become a crowd of overworked, underpaid, under-fed, half-clad, and worse-housed toilers, then she shall find that when her needs press, there will be no men to maintain any rights whatever, and she herself shall fall from her high estate, and her name be erased from out of the roll of nations. Now, if testimony and long experience are good for example and profit, and prove anything, they prove that a healthy, vigorous and industrious population is the most valuable treasure any country can possess, and that it is a most wise policy to keep that population in a happy condition of willing and cheerful industry, with good pay, good food, good shelter of both clothing and homestead. They are the true producers of the positive wealth of the land, and do more towards securing its greatness and strength than the merely rich. If they be overtasked, overworked, underfed, and underclothed, then, as surely as darkness succeeds when light is lost, the inevitable result will follow, that there will be a gradual yet sure diminution of their producing capacities, and, therefore, a gradual diminution of wealth, both individual and national. And let those who now possess and enjoy wealth, a fruition which nobody dreams of disturbing, not forget that it may be better to accumulate somewhat less at present for themselves, than that they who shall succeed thereto when their fathers shall have left it, should gradually become wholly bereft, because their progenitors, for selfish and immediate gain, preferred to exhaust the power that produced, to kill the goose that laid the golden egg, rather than by proper and timely care to keep her in permanently good laying condition.

We now append such amount of oral testimony as we have been able to gather. The witnesses were mostly volunteers, who

* Who says in reply to some words of a sympathizing politician—

“I should be glad to drink your honor's health, in
A pot of beer, if you will give me sixpence ;
But, for my part, I never like to meddle
With politics, Sir.”

seeing our general advertisement, desired to be summoned. The parties were under oath, and what they state is, therefore, to be fully relied on. The superintendent, and one of the overseers who testified, have had a very large experience and excellent opportunities for information, both abroad and at home, having visited the manufacturing centres of England, and observed with care the working of the system, under long and short time. The other two overseers are men of long experience, having been in charge of weaving rooms for many years. The male operatives, as will be seen, have worked in both countries; the females were American women of the older factory stock, and very intelligent persons. They are all from the largest manufacturing towns in the State. We have omitted all names, because of the desire of some that their names should not appear, they fearing loss of work should it be known that they had testified. We had hoped to receive information from other parties connected with manufactories on our advertised request, but were disappointed. Yet we have been assured that there are treasurers, agents, and superintendents of mills, as well as clergymen and physicians, who favor reduction to ten hours of daily work. The former of these assign competition* as the only reason why they do not adopt the short time in their own factories. To this the opinions of some English physicians, well known in the medical world, will be added. They are most decided in their views of the importance of shorter time.

TESTIMONY—AT HEARINGS BEFORE THE BUREAU.

A former operative from Lawrence appeared and testified as follows, viz. :—

I am 42 years of age, and have worked as a factory operative 32 years—22 years in England, and 10 years in the United States, with the exception of *one* year which I spent in the army during

* By Martin's Tables, the following were the annual average dividends of the mills named, with the highest market value of their stock during that time, and their capital.

Chicopee Mills,	26½ per cent.	\$420,000	. . .	\$325 on par of \$100.
Merrimack	" 15½ "	2,500,00	. . .	1,700 " 1,000.
Middlesex	" 22½ "	750,000	. . .	400 " 100.
Naumkeag	" 19½ "	1,500,000	. . .	167 " 100.
Pacific	" 21½ "	2,500,000	. . .	2,240 " 1,000.
Salisbury	" 22½ "	1,000,000	. . .	360 " 100.

The average dividends of twenty of the principal mills in Massachusetts for eight years last past, appear from the same tables to have been fifteen four-tenths per cent.

the rebellion. My work here was in the Pacific Mills, Lawrence, from which I was discharged by the superintendent, because I had taken active part in the ten-hour movement. My work was in the dressing room. When in England, I worked in all departments of the cotton manufacture, except the weaving, and have had charge of the various books required by English Factory Acts. Have a family of self, wife, and eight children; three of these children are operatives—two in the Pacific Mills, and one in the Washington. One of these, a boy 20 years old, works at drawing and twisting—one, a girl 15 years old, assists as hander at the harnesses, in the dressing room; and a daughter, 17 years old, works at ring spinning, the first and last at the Pacific; the other at the Washington. The girl of 15 has not attended school during the last 12 months, her wages being needed in the family.

My own wages average about	.	.	.	\$16 00 per week.
The child of 20 years averages about	.	.	.	8 00 " "
" " 17 " " "	.	.	.	7 00 " "
" " 15 " " "	.	.	.	3 60 " "

Under full work \$34 60 " "

But my average *monthly* earnings, deducting loss of time, would be \$50 00

Those of the son, (20 years,) would be 25 00

" " girl, (17 years,) " 20 00

" " girl, (15 years,) " 8 00

\$103 00

Giving for the year \$1,236 for whole family.

My loss from various causes given below was \$170; that is, had I worked 308 days, the whole number of working days of the year, I should have earned \$770, or \$64 per month, instead of \$50, as above.

I have never worked but *one whole* month in 10 years, and never took one week's continuous recreation in 10 years. The lost time was occasioned by physical exhaustion from working in a room (the dressing room), where the heat was from 110° to 116° (Fahr.,) and from lack of work during these 10 years for certain months, when I lost two and a half days per week, though this was a benefit, as I suffered less from physical exhaustion. The hours of labor in my room were ten and a half per day. The ventilation of the room was very fair, being from the top of the room by patent ventilator; but on heavy, foggy days, ventilation was not allowed, on account of its affecting the work.

No recent machinery has rendered the work less exhaustive.

During my 10 years' work here, I have not been able to save anything whatever, with my family of 10 persons. We have six rooms in our house, the house being situated on Water Street, west of the depot, on the low lands at eastern foot of Tower Hill, which lands, during the recent flood, (Oct., 1869,) were wholly submerged. My family had to leave the house and sleep at a friend's house on higher land. My cellar cannot become dry till spring.

In my neighborhood is a Mission Sunday School of 150 children—a weekly prayer meeting—with average attendance of six persons. I am of temperate habits, member of a ten-hour society, of the Odd Fellows, Good Templars' Temperance Society, and of the Orthodox Church.

In 1857, the Pacific Mills sold flour to its people at \$5.75 per bbl., not of a desirable quality. Good flour sold at the stores at \$6.75.

The mill, this year, (1869,) sells coal to its people at \$11.25 per 2,000 lbs., price outside \$12; can be bought now (October) of the St. Crispin's Society at \$11 per 2,240 lbs., the outside price being \$13 per ton.

In England, have worked 14 hours in succession in 1835 and 1836,—before the ten-hour law,—from 6 A. M., to 8 o'clock, P. M., with no time for dinner, eating a lunch as I worked, paying threepence a week to an old woman who brought hot water into the mill for the 'hands,' which she poured into their quart pots, wherein they brought from home some tea and sugar. This, with a loaf of bread was the only food for dinner. We ate this with one hand and worked with the other.

I have greatly to thank the English ten-hour law bill for very many benefits. It now gives me a living by my having learnt the art of printing in the time thus saved from mill work. After my discharge from the Pacific Mills, I bought a few fonts of type and a hand press, the use of which I had learnt in England, and set up a small establishment in Lawrence, to which I added sale of periodicals. Never had but two weeks' schooling, excepting that of Sabbath schools, where I was taught reading, spelling, &c., &c.

The influence of the ten-hour law in England was to raise the educational condition of the laborers, as was at once shown in their increased attendance on public lectures, public meetings, mechanics' institutes, in the establishment of agricultural and horticultural shows, where were exhibited products raised on grounds hired and worked during the time thus gained. To these I may add singing schools and societies, night schools, of which where before there were but two or three, there would be twenty, and by better attendance on religious meetings, as was testified to by clergymen

before the parliamentary commission on hours of labor—clergymen of every denomination, Catholic and Protestant. No greater boon was ever given to a people than this ten-hour law, and could a laborer of 20 years before it, have come back to England, he would be amazed at the improved condition of the working people.

Testimony of an Operative.

Born in England, at Carlisle; 35 years old; is now an operative at an establishment of 50,000 spindles, 800 looms, No. 32 yarn; girls tending 6 to 8 looms at speed of 140 picks. Whole number of operatives, 500. Cloths manufactured are for printing. Had worked at Lawrence; discharged for agitating the 10-hour movement. Wife and boy work in mill. Is a spinner, and has worked in England 22 years, and in the United States, 6 years, — 28 years in all, having begun at 7 years of age. Tends 670 spindles with back-boy and piecer. Is married, family consisting of self, wife, and 3 children.

Present pay is	\$2 per day, — say	.	.	\$ 600 00 per year.
Wife's	" " 1 "	"	"	240 00 " "
Boy's	" " 75c. "	"	"	220 00 " "
A total of				\$1,060 00 " "

Lives in a Company house of four tenements under one roof; two lower, and two upper; entrance doors at each end; has a parlor, kitchen, two bed-rooms, and two attic rooms; two beds in each bed-room, and one in each attic. The house is comfortable. The washing water is obtained from cisterns in the cellars, being rain-water caught from the roof, and pumped up; the drinking-water is from a well which furnishes the supply of nearly thirty families, so that parties often have to wait for each other. In the space between the several tenements is a common privy building, divided into twelve apartments, and each family has a key and lock to secure its own privy. Rent of his tenement is \$90 per year.

There are very many children *under* ten years employed in mills at ———. Persons boarding in factory houses must leave the house when they leave the mill. (This is at Lawrence.) Married women, with families, have been compelled to work over hours, and on refusal have been discharged.

Came to United States because he expected to better his condition; but thinks the liberties enjoyed by a factory operative are greater in England than here; and his advantages are better, and there is more freedom and social intercourse among the work people. There the overseers, or overlookers, as they are there called, are less

authoritative and overbearing. An agent there is called superintendent (or super;) and the owner of a mill is known as the master. As a general thing the owner, or the owner and son, or some relative, carries on his own business; and most of them are persons of great wealth. The longest time he has ever worked per day was from 5½ A. M. to 7½ P. M., — 14 hours, less ½ hour for breakfast, and 1 hour for dinner—12½ hours. All the schooling I had in England, I received before eight years of age; was taught reading, spelling, &c., in the Sabbath school.

Under a period of prosperity there, the workingmen's privileges are greater than here. They have more liberty to discuss wages, grievances, &c. Their unions are acknowledged by capital. The secretary of the masters' association corresponds with the secretary of the workmen's association, invites a meeting of committees of the two parties to discuss the points of dispute; and these are generally arranged by such committees. Men are never discharged for taking part in trades or labor questions; and this is agreed to and enforced by the Constitution of the Masters' Association. *If discharged at all from one mill, workmen can go and work in any other mill in the same place; and for every hour lost by interference of employer, he is held responsible by law.*

In England the intercourse is more directly with the employer than here; there is little more of the feeling of rank there than here. The moral habits of the work people are on an equality with those here,—though there they drink a great deal of beer. A public house is more like a reading room; people there read, discuss, and drink, spending an hour or two over a couple of glasses of beer. (This was before the ten hours.) Since then, reading rooms have been established elsewhere.

The effect of the ten-hour law upon the condition of the workman, has been invariably good in all points, social, intellectual, educational, material and sanitary. Mechanic institutes, reading rooms, &c., &c., have been established, and manufactures have paid better. Prior to this Act, few could read or write; after it, men would come together and help each other learn; they would hire a building, and collect a library by mutual contribution.

Manufacturers show no disposition to evade the law; they are satisfied with it. My rent for four rooms was \$1 per week (in Federal money.) Under the new Sanitary Act, houses must be built of fixed dimensions, with proper ventilation. Cost of living per week (1860,) £1,—for a family of six persons,—say \$5 per week, then. To live as we live here would have cost \$7.

Cost of Clothing there per year.—One entire black cloth suit,

lasting 4 years, \$27; Velvet coat, lasting 13 years, \$6.75; corduroy suit (every-day wear,) lasting 2 years, \$9; pair stockings and shoes, \$3.83; cap, 35 to 84 cents; hat, \$2 to \$4; boots, \$6.75.

A spinner can earn \$10 per week; weaver, on 4 looms, \$4 to \$4.50; overseers, \$9. These, as a class, are little above operatives, though they associate mainly with themselves.

I could live comfortably on my income, were it not for losses occasioned by strikes. When we were working ten hours, I could do some reading; but under eleven hours, as at the present time, the increased exhaustion and lessened time prevent my doing so to much extent. I take papers, but cannot much use the Public Library, at ———, so that my newspaper reading is about all I get. It takes all my time now to get home, clean up, take my meal, go to the post-office, return home, and then go tired to bed. There is no time for recreation, excepting that we get on Sunday, which is a day for rest and recreation both, and that day is usually spent either in the fields, in fishing, or wandering in the woods. There is little or no intercourse, in ———, between employers and employed; nor do the agents know personally anything about the general condition of the operatives. Very many children under ten years of age are employed in the mills. The mills do nothing in supplying any kind of intellectual or physical recreation; there are no libraries, no reading rooms, no lectures, nor excursions.

I have never had a vacation, as I must work all the time to earn what will keep my family respectable. In twenty-five years have not been able to accumulate any property. Nothing but my life and health keeps my household together. Never received any bonus, or any extra pay at any time; received only my actual wage earnings; have at times been wholly exhausted by continuity of work. In number of years of work the operative will hold out longer under ten hours labor per day, than under eleven. It is the ten-hour law of England that has given the mill operative all the benefits he now possesses. Have seen machinery there speeded up so that as much product was had at ten, as at eleven hours' work without a corresponding fatigue to the operative. The better feeling there between employers and employed—a better feeling than exists here—is due to the ten hours; each understands the other better, and all arrangements of price are settled between the two. A wrong taking place there has its remedy; here there is none.

Testimony of a former Operative.

Is thirty-nine years old, and was born in England; and entered mills at eight years old. Worked there thirteen years in print

works, and four years in the mills. Then came to this country and was four years in print works, and three wool-sorting, and various employments the rest of the time; is married and has a family of seven. In England worked fourteen hours per day in print works; from six A. M. to ten P. M.; breakfasted at eight, having half an hour, and one hour for dinner. Extra pay was allowed for all work over ten hours at a regular rate. Considers it better to go to work after breakfasting than to work on an empty stomach.

Worked in Lawrence in 1862, earning \$11 per week, piece work by the pound. Hours of work averaged ten hours a day. By rule of the mill had to stay eleven hours, but did not; when absent, contrived to make up lost number of pounds. His "chance" was considered one of the best in the mill, the business being healthy, and but little time necessarily lost. Could never save anything as an operative; is now (Oct. 1869) keeping boarders. When board was at \$2.50 per week, years ago, could save some money, but cannot now, although board is \$4.50, owing to disproportionate cost of supplies. Never knew any factory operative who "retired" on his earnings; knows a few with robust health and very small families, who have saved. Does not know of any operatives owning stock in a mill, except overseers. Some operatives, principally of Pacific Mill, own houses from one-half to three-quarters of a mile from the mills, well mortgaged to the company; average time of going to and from mill at dinner, thirty minutes; often go and come on the trot. Sanitary condition of houses, some good and some bad; (this testimony was taken at the time of the October freshets on the Merrimack River, Oct. 6;) some very bad, (to-day everything is afloat,) and the cellars cannot get dried before spring. There was a strike at Lawrence, on the Pacific, about four years ago for ten (10) hours; did not effect the object, and many were discharged; it lasted eighteen days, the strikers being men paid day wages. The mill, probably, did not suffer, as the large amount of *filling* on hand enabled it to ride over the strike without stopping; there were forty or fifty engaged, mostly spinners, though some came out from other rooms; parties who leave a mill *on notice*, can get employment elsewhere.

The introduction of new machinery in the engraving department (the pantagraph, for instance,) has caused the discharge of many workmen. The department of engraving calls for persons of great skill, and they are well paid.

In the dyeing department, at least two-thirds of the help has been discharged on account of new machinery, within twenty years past.

Have been a member of the ten hour league; this association has

improved its members, both morally and intellectually, and made them better citizens. It has not yet succeeded, but thinks it will, and that soon.

Majority of the help of the Pacific Mills live in the boarding-houses; many carry their dinners. Mills stop an hour earlier on Saturday. Help compelled to work over hours when the mill runs over hours; knows some twenty or thirty men now so working from half-past six A. M., to eleven and twelve P. M., having their meals carried to them. These men will sometimes stop out a day or two, and then go into a "jollification," and drink more than they should. Their habits of intemperance are decidedly worse than those who work usual hours, or of themselves, when they do not overwork. Fancy dyework is uncomfortable, but not unhealthy; the entire help in this department is changed in each twelve months; change very often. In England, within two (2) years after the ten-hour Act, wages increased ten to twenty per cent., and the whole condition of working people, moral, social and intellectual, had improved.

In corporation boarding-houses, price of board of women is \$2.75 per week; men, \$.3.50 to \$4.50; good board, good food, fair rooms, and sanitary condition of houses good. If a person leaves the mill he must leave the boarding-house. Rooms have some two beds, some three beds each; the houses are closed at ten o'clock, P. M., but any of the boarders can have a night key, so that they can enter the house at any time; the boarders in corporation houses are principally females. The greatest difficulty encountered by the boarding-house keepers, is the fact that the corporation retains in its hands, for two or three weeks, the earning of the operatives at each pay day. This is a loss of thousands of dollars yearly to boarding-house keepers, to the grocers, and dry goods dealers; and they calculate that from this cause alone, ten per cent. of their profits are swallowed up, unless they add this much to their profits, and so enhance the cost of supplies to the operative.

Testimony of Mrs. ———.

Factory operative at ———; American; has worked twenty years; working sixty-six hours per week, at \$1.15 per day; pays for board in a factory boarding-house, \$2.25 per week, the corporation adding fifty cents to the housekeeper, giving as total cost of board, \$2.75. Starts for mill at twenty-five minutes past six, A. M.; works five and a half hours to twelve, noon; has forty-five minutes for dinner; lives near the mill, and dines at boarding-house; work starts at a quarter before one, and continues till half-past six, P. M., excepting on Saturdays, when work stops at five, P. M. Her work

is that known as that of a "room girl," who goes about among the looms as a sort of general assistant. Room heated by steam, lighted by gas, and ventilated by letting down top sash of window; part of the room very hot, and part cool. Only means of escape in case of fire is by the doors, the building standing back, and somewhat hemmed in. Doors open inward. In case of injury by accident, company renders no assistance. Operatives often take up collections for parties needing aid from accident. Health of operative weavers is not seldom affected by receiving cotton fibres into the lungs, when sucking in the end of the filling into the shuttle-eye. Other girls, as the drawing-in girls, suffer from sitting in one position during all their work-hours; and have known the brain affected by monotony of long-continued labor. *Was discharged three years ago for testifying before a committee of the legislature, as was informed by her second overseer, and generally so understood in the mill.* After being out some time was desired to return by the overseer, and am now at work for him in same mill. Several others were discharged at the same time. Have known employers interfere to prevent discharged operatives getting work elsewhere. To get employment after leaving one mill, must have "a line" (approval) to overseer of the other mill to which you may apply; if employed by another without such line, the discharging overseer will report the case to agent, and so effect the discharge. Very many of the American girls, though but few are now in mills, are church-members. Twenty years ago her overseer had all American girls, but now has almost none; he prefers foreigners, because, not coming from country homes, but living, as the Irish do, in the town, they take no vacations, and can be relied on at mill all the year round; and can reduce wages upon them more easily, and with less complaint. Formerly worked fourteen hours a day; works now eleven hours, and is vastly better in health. Under fourteen hours, observed more intemperance than now; the reduction of hours had a very good effect. Many operatives are in debt, and find much difficulty to get along, and are greatly distressed by trustee processes. Has frequently known industrious girls to be in actual distress when out of work, and depending on contribution of associates; and have even known cases where they were taken to poor-house, if without friends or home. There are many children under ten years of age employed in my mill, and in others; and some not over seven. They work eleven hours, and sometimes have had to work till half-past nine in the evening. Think the boys, in tending their work, have to walk not less than twenty miles a day. Does not know of a case where the legal schooling has been had. Thinks

that the influence of factory life on children is very bad; they are always of a sickly look; girls are by it disqualified for household duties, and for mothers. "Help" in any given room in a factory is always changing; in her own room there is but one person out of about forty, who was there three years ago; during twenty years last past the nationality of the help has totally changed. Under eleven hours, as compared to the old fourteen hours work, have had much relief—more time to sew and to read; and has seen the good effects upon the help, and thinks further reduction would be beneficial. The last hour is a very tedious drag; makes more bad work than any other hour, and is of little use to anybody. If I go to lectures, must go without my supper; whole dress has to be changed. Had rather board in a private family than in a corporation house; these last are kept fairly clean, but they put four persons into a room, and on the ———, six, though most of the rooms are not large enough for more than two; the rooms are not properly ventilated, *the fire-places being bricked up*—and often a stove is put into the room, and the air becomes unfit for breath. Where I board, the food is good and sufficient; all the water used in the rooms is carried up by the operatives, and all the waste water carried down by them; *there are no wash-stands, pitchers nor basins provided, except by them, and a trunk or chair is used for the basins*; slops thrown into a drain-hole in the yard.

Testimony of Miss ———.

American; has worked 20 years, now 66 hours per week; pays for board in factory boarding-house \$2.25 per week, corporation paying 50 cents additional to housekeepers; starts for mill at 6.20 A. M.; works $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours; has 45 minutes for dinner; continues till 6.30 P. M., except on Saturdays, when work stops at 5 P. M. There are 1,700 persons employed by the corporation, and 136 in my room. The room is 350 feet long by 80 feet wide, and is 10 feet below the yard; it is ventilated by the windows letting down at the top. There are three ladders front and rear for fire escapes, and the doors open out. In case of accidents, the corporation pays nothing in support of the party injured; neither is the pay continued. I have known persons to be discharged for participating in Labor Reform movement. *I am liable to be discharged for coming here, if it was known.* Many years ago I worked 14 hours per day; have seen the time during the last five years, when between five and six o'clock I could have lain down between the looms, and gone without my supper. The effect of factory life upon children is bad; they grow poor. I have seen children that looked like dwarfs,—stunted both physically and mentally. It disqualifies women for

household work. I think a reduction of the hours of labor to eight would result in good to all. The only chance for a poor working girl, who is not married, is to work; and if she is sick, and has no home, she may go to the almshouse. The factories are becoming more oppressive: they have just cut down the weavers seven cents on a dollar. The house where I board has eighteen rooms, consisting of the kitchen, one sitting room, two dining rooms, and fourteen sleeping rooms. There are 53 persons in the house. The largest sleeping room is 16×20 feet, 11 foot post; it contains 6 beds, occupied by 12 persons; there is no stove, *and no water in the room*. The attic is 25×11 feet, 10 feet high in the highest part; it contains 3 beds, occupied by 6 persons; there is but one window in the room, and that does not let down at the top. The food at the table is good and sufficient; but in some houses it is poor and insufficient.

Testimony of ———.

A Superintendent of a cotton mill; of experience in this country and Europe; employing a large number of operatives, several hundred of whom are children. *There is not more than one-half of the children that can write their names at all; and many of those who can, do it but imperfectly. There is no system of schooling, and but a small portion have attended school at all.* There is an evening school in the vicinity which is well attended by the Protestant operatives. The hours for running are from $6\frac{1}{2}$ A. M., to $6\frac{1}{2}$ P. M., with one hour for dinner; some who work by the piece commence at 6.10 A. M., and 12.35 P. M. The average wages in the carding-room: men, \$1.40 a day; women, 95 cents; and children, 65 cents per day. The average wages in the spinning-room are: for men, \$1.40; women, \$1.00; children, 50 cents per day. Weaving-room: men, \$1.40; women, \$1.25* per day. There was a strike during the past five years, which lasted six days; the object was for shorter time. I went into Rhode Island and procured men, and brought them on, at which my men yielded, though some of them did not come back. Three or four men were discharged for participating in this strike.† In case of accidents we do not continue the pay; neither do we in case of stoppage of machinery, though the pay of salaried officers and overseers continues; neither do we reduce the salary of officers, when reduction in wages takes place. We have a mutual relief society—compulsory—and for which the employés are assessed from eight to sixteen cents per month, and that sum is deducted

* Since this, wages have been cut down.

† One of the latter is now a member of the legislature of Massachusetts. [BUREAU.]

from their monthly pay; the corporation paying into the funds \$5 per week. There is also a library, for the support of which employés are compelled to pay one cent per week. Three-fourths of the help are temperate, and the rest more or less intemperate. I think that a reduction of the hours of labor would be a benefit to the operatives, and that it would not cause less production. I think that one-half of the working people are in debt, caused by low wages, and a lack of discretion and economy. I think factory life detrimental to the health and habits of children and young women, and that it disqualifies the latter, physically, for wives and mothers, and renders them unfit for household duties.

Testimony of ———.

An Overseer in a large cotton factory; of 33 years' experience and observation, both in this country and Europe, having in his room, under him, 105 children, said to be upwards of 15 years of age; thinks that five per cent. of his employés can neither read nor write. Twenty per cent. attend day school, and twenty-five per cent. of the whole number, attend evening school. "I have taken," he says, "great interest in the education of children and young persons, trying to impress them with the value of education." The hours of labor for adults and children are about 65, with one hour for dinner. The wages paid are: for adults, about \$11.50 per week for best men; for women, 93 cents per day; children, from 50 to 75 cents per day. There was a strike, lasting two weeks, for *short time*. The corporation stood out, and the producers were compelled, by their poverty, to submit. The aggregate loss of production was 65,000 lbs. of yarn, at an estimated loss of \$6,000 to the corporation. *It is the rule to discharge men prominent in strikes.* I never interpose any obstacle in the way of parties leaving me, getting work anywhere else; in this I am an exception to the general rule. Children, sometimes, are required to work extra time over and above their regular working time. Many years ago I worked 14 hours per day. Its effect upon the health and general condition of the working people was very bad. The result of the reduction of hours has been good. The help make an extra exertion to educate themselves, and they have improved in their habits of temperance. I believe that a still further reduction would be beneficial to all concerned; believe that the comparative condition of depositors in savings banks, as to intelligence, education, social habits, &c., is of a low type. *I have known instances wherein children suffered corporal chastisement, years ago, in the State of Rhode Island; the overseers used strips of leather fourteen inches long, four*

inches wide, three-eighths of an inch thick.—sometimes tacks were inserted,—this was used promiscuously. The influence of factory work has been bad in most mills; it disqualifies women for household duties, and renders them unfit for wives, and especially for mothers. I never knew an instance of a working man, working on day wages, or piece work, who acquired a competence upon which he could live without work. I believe that early morning work is better than late evening work, as more persons break down by artificial light, and in hot rooms, than at other times, the gas-burners vitiating the air and overheating the rooms. We can't let down the windows to ventilate the rooms, as it hurts the work. The help get overheated, and go out into the cold air, and take serious colds; believes that long-continued labor in mills is running down the operatives,—dwarfing the race, especially in England,—and will do so here, although now our people are in better order than there. It takes three operatives in England to produce what two will do here, owing to their deteriorated condition. We do not, knowingly, employ any child under 15 years of age. I am opposed to the name of *factory school*, should like the name of half-time schools better."

Testimony of two Overseers in a Ten-Hour Cotton Mill.

Commenced running ten hours per day, or sixty hours per week, June 10th, 1867; prior to this ran ten hours and forty-five minutes per day. Previous to June 10th, 1867, the looms were running one hundred and twenty-nine picks per minute in the coarse mills; in the finer mill, the speed was one hundred and twenty-three picks per minute. When the hours of labor were reduced, the speed was increased five picks per minute, or a trifle less than four per cent. The actual reduction of time being about seven per cent.; the decrease of product on coarse goods, two per cent., nearly; but on the fine goods there was a small increase. To recapitulate thus: Loss of time, seven per cent.; loss of product coarse goods, two per cent.; increase of speed, four per cent.; on fine work, a gain, percentage not known.

It should be stated in this connection, that there is a portion of the year when we are troubled by high water, when the speed is somewhat reduced. In case of great freshets, additional power is derived from a steam-engine; but many weeks during the year the speed has been no higher than it was when running eleven hours per day.

In the finer mill, improved machinery has been added, by which the quality of the yarn has been much improved; and this in part

accounts for the increase of product; thus showing that the loss in quantity, by running but ten hours per day, can be compensated for by the introduction of improved machinery and increased speed, and in better raw material.

Question. Will there be a reduction of wages on the adoption of the ten-hour system?

Answer. The law of supply and demand will regulate the wages in mills, as it does in every other department of productive industry. A day's wages will (when affairs are in their normal condition,) be paid for a day's work, whether that day's work is one of nine hours, or of sixteen hours. A common laborer, that is, one who works with his hands, (others doing the thinking for him,) will, as a rule, be paid enough to house him, to clothe him, and feed him, but not much more, and he cannot have much less. This he must have, working few or many hours. So we think there can be no material reduction of wages on account of a reduction of working hours.

Q. How does ten hours per day affect the moral status of your help?

A. We cannot answer this question, for changing the moral status of any community, especially for the better, even under the most favorable circumstances, is a very slow process. The Christian teachers of the world have been pounding away at it for the last eighteen hundred years, with many ups and downs, and have not done much worth speaking about; and the effect of the slight change of a few people, working a few minutes less per day on general principles, must be good, but hardly perceptible morally.

Q. Are you troubled less by help on Monday mornings than of old? how do they appear to have spent Sunday?

A. We do not consider these questions at all applicable to our operatives. They might perhaps be asked in some Scotch or English towns, but not here. Our working people are not a dissipated people; such cannot have permanent employment in any establishment in our city. There may be dissipation here, and some may get drunk on Saturday night, but we venture to say not more than among the same number of men you would meet in Boston, or elsewhere who are not employés. We think we can say, with truth, that in the world there are not ten thousand operatives who are so well paid, housed, fed, clothed, schooled, or so well *churched* as the ten thousand working people or operatives with us, and our savings banks will aid in substantiating this assertion as to their general thrift. Within three years, the sum of ninety thousand dollars has been paid towards the erection of one church edifice by one denomi-

nation, and the very large majority of these are operatives in our mills.

There is one fact that we consider worthy of note in the weaving-rooms. Under eleven or more hours per day, the overseers consider the last hour (especially the last half hour) of the day, as of comparatively little value as to product. There are so many break-outs, and so much bad work, that about as much time is consumed in the morning in getting the webs in running order. Under the ten-hour system that state of things has almost disappeared. Such is the fact, why we do not state.

Q. Is factory discipline increasing, or becoming less severe?

A. Not more severe with us. We know nothing as to other concerns.

Our ground for desiring, and insisting upon ten hours as a day's work is, that ten hours' labor in a cotton, woollen, or any other mill, where textile fabrics are made, should, in justice to the operative, be considered a full day's work. All trades and occupations *not* managed by corporative bodies, where the workman or employé has something to say, as well as the employer as to terms, have long ago decided on ten hours as a day's work, and these, too, on outdoor occupations, where long hours can be better worked, if at all, than in a close mill. And we think that it is wrong to compel the operatives, especially women and children, to work more hours than are required of those engaged in other and more healthy avocations, simply because the employers, by the combined and concentrated power of corporate bodies, and by taking advantage of their necessities can, as it were, compel them.

Q. The question may be asked, if your people think so, why do you not insist upon shorter hours?

A. You are sufficiently well acquainted with mill discipline, to know that this would mean revolution. The overseers in a large corporation become such after long service, and they become, to a certain degree, disinclined to engage in outside occupations. The few young men employed under them, and expecting their places, know that it is only by good conduct and obedience to the will of their employer, that they will succeed. The balance of the help of a mill, are mostly females who require their daily wages. Hence the element that asserts its right and insists upon it, is not there, and it is only by outside pressure brought to bear upon the subordinate help, oftentimes by demagogues, that the thing can be agitated, or anything accomplished in this direction. This has been so often the case, that overseers as a body have come to look upon such efforts with distrust, as designed more to advance the interest

of some political aspirant than to benefit the operative or laboring classes.

Q. Does the help on your corporation desire ten hours?

A. They do, with scarcely an exception. The petition was unanimously signed by the help in these mills, and there is probably not an overseer, or what we call section-operative, in the State, but what is in favor of ten hours per day, and would earnestly advocate the passage of such a law, were he not restrained from doing so by prudential motives.

On account of the changing and unstable condition of manufacturing since the war, we find it impossible, upon investigation, to give any comparative statistics that can be relied upon, except such as relates to the product as before given. All others as relates to cost of manufacturing, are liable to mislead and would do so.

Our operatives, under the ten-hour work, are, as we note them, more cleanly in person and in their work than they were before. From three years' experience, we are decided in our opinion that ten hours is enough, and that production is not injuriously affected by the diminution, but that, in a course of years, it will be increased by the husbanded strength of the work people, by improved machinery, better raw material, and *and that the good of all will be secured by the early adoption of a ten-hour law.*

Testimony of ———.

An Overlooker of seventeen years' experience, five in this country and twelve in England, in a cotton mill: worked in England under the ten-hour law; is familiar with the system of inspection in England; has seen an inspector enter disguised as a laborer; he forbade any one leaving the room until after the inspection; found thirty or more children working contrary to law, for which the owner was fined. Now works eleven hours per day, except Saturday; thinks there are many children under fifteen years of age; according to the best of my knowledge, I believe there are 150 under that age, in the room in which I am employed; one, a girl, measuring 4 ft. 5 in. high, weighing 62 lbs; another about the same height weighing 64½ lbs; think they are about eleven years of age. These children are poor, emaciated and sickly; none of them have attended school during the past year. Six years ago I ran *night-work* from 6.45 P. M. to 6 A. M., with forty-five minutes for meals, eating in the room. The children were drowsy and sleepy; have known them to fall asleep standing up at their work. Some of these children are now working in the mill, and appear to be under fifteen years of age. I have had to sprinkle water in their face to arouse

them, after having spoken to them till hoarse; this was done gently, without any intention of hurting them. Not one in fifty of the women who marry from the mill will be healthy. The wool goes through a chemical preparation, so that when it comes to the weave room, and the weaver draws in the thread, it rots the teeth, and destroys their health.

It may be proper to introduce here from "Alfred's History of the Factory Movement," the medical opinions and testimony given before the parliamentary committee on the Ten Hours' Bill. They relate to both adult and child labor.

William Sharp, surgeon to the Bradford Infirmary, "thinks ten hours as long, and perhaps longer, than is consistent with their general health."

C. T. Thackrah, surgeon to Leeds Infirmary, "thinks children should not work at all."

P. M. Roget, late a physician of Manchester Infirmary, "thinks that a child under nine years ought not to be subject to the labor of a mill, and ten hours sufficient for any age."

G. J. Guthrie, surgeon to Royal College, testifies that factory children are worked on an average longer than soldiers. "Ten hours far too much."

John R. Fane, physician of forty-two years practice, says that "in England everything valuable in manhood is sacrificed to an inferior advantage in childhood."

Samuel Smith, surgeon to the Leeds Infirmary, says: "Ten hours are too long, and many will suffer under it."

Joseph H. Green, surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital: "I fear this country will have much to answer for in permitting the growth of the system of employing children in factories. From nine years to twelve, not more than six hours should be allowed."

James Blundell, physician to Guy's Hospital, "Looks upon factory towns as nurseries for feeble bodies and fretful minds. Ten hours is enough for human beings."

Thomas Hodgkins, physician to the London Dispensary: "Ten hours appear to be a proper time."

John Morgan, surgeon to Guy's Hospital: "Ten hours are injurious to young children of nine years."

Benjamin Brodie, surgeon to St. George's Hospital, thinks

“ten hours too much for children of ten years, and twelve too much for all.”

William Lutener, surgeon, “favors eight or nine hours.”

Sir Anthony Carlile, principal surgeon of Westminster Hospital for forty years: “More than ten hours is quite incompatible with health and moral propriety. Every successive generation will be progressively deteriorated, if you do not stop these sins against nature and humanity.”

Sir William Blizard, surgeon to the London Hospital for fifty years: “The present system of thirteen and more hours (including meals,) is horrible.”

Sir Charles Bell, surgeon to Middlesex Hospital: “More than ten hours is painful in idea.”

Sir Geo. L. Tuthill, physician to Westminster Hospital twenty years: “Doubts very much whether ten hours will not be injurious to children under twelve years.”

[Sir William Jones, goes beyond all this, for he declares for but *seven hours* for a day's work for anybody, when he says—

“Seven hours to law, to soothing slumber seven,
Ten to the world allot, and all to heaven.”

And Sir Edward Coke, going still further, says—

“Six hours in sleep, in law's grave study six ;
Four spend in prayer, the rest on nature fix.”]

The testimony founded on the experience of the ten-hour law, up to 1867, is all one way. Mr. Redgrave, one of her Majesty's Inspectors of Factories, declares that the factory “masses have proved themselves worthy of the boon conferred upon them ; they have not abused the gift ; their intelligence has increased ; their habits have improved ; their social happiness has advanced ; they have gained all, and more than all they expected from factory legislation, and they have not been intoxicated with their success ;” and he adds that “evening schools have been frequented ; improvement societies been appreciated ; holidays been spent in more rational enjoyments ; intelligence, subordination to authority, and the general tone

and bearing of the operative have kept pace with the advancement of the age." To this Mr. Baker, another Factory Inspector, adds, "The living and flourishing institutes for intellectual improvement, the lectures, musical meetings, the allotment garden, and all the other sources of pleasure and profit that are to be found, take their date from the possession of the privileges which restricted labor confers upon the people."

(The remarks here following are from an article by W. A. Abram, Esq., in Morley's Fortnightly Review for Oct. 1, 1868. We have of necessity given only the substance.)

"My first recollections of the factory people of Lancashire date from the year 1843. I often watched the factories 'loosing' (closing,) towards 8 o'clock in the evening, and noticed the poor, jaded wretches,—men, women and children,—who had been kept incessantly at work, with the briefest intervals for meals, devoured hastily in the rooms from 5 o'clock in the morning (fifteen hours,) dragging their limbs wearily up the steep hill to their homes. These miserable objects, many of them grievously deformed in frame, their skins and clothing smeared with oil and grime, the young among them sickly and wan, the middle-aged prematurely broken down and decrepit, and all so eminently dejected in spirit, seemed to my eyes the very embodiment of hopelessness. The common bodily deformity was partially due to the practice of setting children to work before their limbs had become set, and partly to the propulsion of certain machinery by the knees. The hours of labor in factories, passed in 1844, and materially amended in 1847 and 1856, worked a thorough reform. The excessive hours of labor (twelve to thirteen for adults and children alike,) *have been by law reduced to ten hours per day*, and females and young persons are protected against the pernicious encroachment upon their meal times which was formerly so flagrant. The Saturday half-holiday is universal. Wages, *so far from being diminished by the shortening of time, have, thanks to accelerated machinery and improved methods of working, largely increased*. Moreover, the short time system of juvenile labor guarantees a certain elementary education to the operative-child. In many other directions marked progress has been made. The low, dark, noisome rooms in which manufacturing processes were formerly carried on, have been replaced by vast sheds lighted from the roof, and large well-ventilated rooms for spinning and other preparatory work. Outside the mill, the provision of public parks, pleasure grounds, baths and

free libraries, testifies that the public authorities are not unmindful of their obligation to promote the health, happiness and culture of the industrial classes. The effect of these changes, upon the moral and physical condition of the operatives is most apparent. Sickness and mortality have been reduced to an extent almost incredible. Deformity of body is now a rare exception among the younger operatives. A few old men still exhibit the rounded backs and twisted limbs induced by a bygone system."

Mr. Abram then describes the homes of the more thrifty as being moderately comfortable, their furniture, small in amount, but convenient. (It would not satisfy an educated American operative.) Upon this the better paid workmen improve, having a parlor, books, and not unfrequently, if a taste for music exists, a pianoforte, and he believes that they are far better lodged, and have a superior opportunity for securing domestic comfort to a workman of London or Glasgow, who is glad to lodge his family in a portion of a tenement, and to whom privacy is a thing unknown and unattainable.

Between eighteen and twenty years of age, many of the operatives marry. The weaver usually takes a weaver to wife, and between them both, they make about thirty shillings a week. If children are born to them, the effort at support, with one party not working, fails to meet family expenses. As the children grow up and get at work themselves, the prospect is better, for they help to maintain the household. But as they marry off themselves, and the parents grow old, weak, and incompetent to labor, they lapse into penury, and if the children stand aloof, as circumstances may compel them to do, then the parish help must come in, and so ends the story. A minority of them, a little more fortunate, may finish their days in frugal independence, "*but the chance of a spinner or weaver for getting ahead, is not, to be sure, particularly splendid.*" * Sometimes, here and there, an operative is promoted, and if an "over-looker," he gets thirty shillings to forty shillings, and if an "under-manager," fifty shillings a week.

"The qualification for such places is *not superior education, or exceptional intelligence*, but a *rough force of character* and activity of habit," and should the man come to be the manager of a loom-

* See "Wages of operatives" in Massachusetts, in Appendix.

shed, he may set himself down as the favorite of the gods. For one who reaches that elevation, fifty superannuated weavers are put to the duties of odd-men and messengers, until death rescues them from the buffeting and contumely of circumstances." * * * * "The operatives are not deficient in ambition, and there is among them little of that shocking mental stupor observable in the rural laborer. Only a limited sediment is sunk in utter sottishness and abasement." "But the impulse to progress is not sufficient, and the qualities of persistence and self-denial being wanting, after a few spasmodic efforts to alleviate their fate, the majority become dispirited. The omnipresent, and probably the strongest sentiment of these people, is an *inveterate repugnance to factory work, and a desire to get away from it*. We shall not wonder much at this, if we consider the irksomeness of the employment, and the rigidity of its regulations." * * * * "To be tied down to such inexorable fixity and routine for years at a stretch, would be found a trial to most of our readers. The worker is chafed and worried by the stipulations of an oppressive task system. A fixed amount of product must be given by each machine, and he who fails therein is discharged, no matter what the cause, whether lack of industry, or strength of body, or *badness of stock supplied*. The wages of some weavers have often been so low that they were insufficient to discharge the house rent due to the *landlord-employer*, and it is a frequent saying, that eighteen shillings out of mill is preferable to twenty-five within, for the pecuniary loss was a cheap price for freedom and of escape from the discredit of being '*only a weaver*.'"

Now in these extracts two things are very noticeable. One is that at the outset, the writer speaks most favorably, of the meliorating effect upon the physical and moral status of operatives, of the shortening of time; and the other is, that, subsequently, he speaks most disparagingly of the whole influence of factory life even under this shortened time. And the unavoidable legitimate conclusion is, *that factory life any way*, (Dr. Ure to the contrary, notwithstanding,) *is a bad life, physically, morally, socially, and intellectually*. For the mere operative, no life is mere bereft of hope, or less encouraging, for the rising above that grade is the fortune of only those exceptional and very rare men, who by the good gift of mental and physical energies, and a certain rough-and-readiness, would come up to the upper degree in any station. As for women operatives, so long as mill work is their life support, their *life-long work will be at the mill*.

machine. The better life, and the substantial remunerations are for those who attain unto the desirable position of sole owner, general manager, or superintendent, treasurer, or selling agent. And if by a stroke of special and adroit sagacity, sharp management, or social influence, some, or all of these be united in the same fortunate individual, then his worldly prosperity is secured, and he may exercise any amount of power, responsible only to his own will, without let or hindrance. It is a characteristic of manufacturing business everywhere, that at the head has stood massive wealth, and at the foot monstrous poverty. If there be any between, as, for instance, of unmanaging owners, or stockholders, they are a useful race, to be benefited or not, as circumstances may warrant.*

The tendency of any long-continued and monotonous labor,—and factory labor is both monotonous and long-continued, a labor on trifling and uninteresting details in its several specialties,—the tendency is to dwarf all the energies of the producer, and therefore eventually diminish production, as well as injure the quality of the article produced. Is it not already the remark, that present articles of manufacture are inferior in stability and endurance of wear, when compared with those of a quarter of a century since?

Diminished pressure on an elastic material preserves its elasticity for further use,—and mind and body may both be classed among elastic materials. Up to the time of the ten-hours' bill the working population of Great Britain was gradually losing its capabilities, and it was argued that if to the diminution per individual, there be added a diminution of lessened time, the effects would be disastrous. "But," says Levi in his valuable work on "Wages," *the "factory laws have increased, not diminished, production.* Labor lightened is not

* Our inquiries upon the subject of salaries have been productive of very little information, and we can give nothing more satisfactory than ordinary report. Those of the treasurers of some of the larger corporations are placed as high as \$30,000, and from that down to \$10,000, while those of the agents range between \$5,000 and \$25,000. In Senate Document, No. 82, for 1852, p. 6, we find the following statement made by the Joint Committee on Manufactures:—"We are credibly informed that in some of our cotton mills, the salaries of officers, agents, and factors amount, exclusive of the wages paid to operatives, to a sum equal to two cents (2c.) per pound on all the cotton manufactured." This was in 1852, and since then the increase must have been very great.

The salaries of the bank presidents in Boston range from \$3,500 to \$15,000, exclusive of bonus, which in some case is reported to be enough to double the salary, as we are informed.

lost, and relaxation and rest only quicken our energies for more labor. "What is man, if the chief good and market of his time be but to sleep and feed? a beast, no more." * Yet to feed and to sleep have been about all that, in the world's past history, the laborer has been able to secure, and of these, with indifferent clothing, a very limited allowance. In fact it is on record that under the system of agricultural labor, so long continued in England, the power of individual endurance and strength has been so lessened,† that, as in factory labor, more laborers are required to do the farm work with the same implements, than were required in former days, and more are required than here, because the exhaustive process has not yet begun its work. Our workers are yet vigorous, and not worn down to the standard of the foreign, even, with the large mixture of the foreign element with the native. And we have another, if not many other safeguards, against the debased hindism which manifests itself in the agricultural gangs of England and Wales, and in the bothies of Scotland; and that is, that no kind of labor here has, either by law or by usage, become hereditary. Yet we think that the adoption, in so many parts of the Commonwealth, of the family system of operatives, will naturally tend to make factory labor here, as well as abroad, transmissible from parents to children, and from so great a calamity may a guardian and good Providence deliver us. We do not believe that any parent, who knows by actual experience of his own, in even the very best factories, what

* Shakspeare.

† In a recent magazine article, J. A. Froude, the historian and eulogist of Henry VIII., assumes that the British people are degenerating physically. The causes of this he ascribes, first, to emigration, which is draining the country of its best blood. The decay of agriculture, and the corresponding increase of manufactures and other in-door vocations, is another and a powerful consequence to this end. In this manufacturing, mercantile city life, the national stamina dies out; children dwindle as if by blight; drunkenness induces decrepitude; and a thousand weavers become unable to compete in the field with a hundred laborers from the country.

This physical decline presupposes a corresponding decline of the martial spirit—at least an inability to cope with a more vigorous people. And here, perhaps, is the solution of the cause for the decadence of British influence in the affairs of Europe, and the growth of a disposition to submit to circumstances now, which a few years since would have been regarded as a *casus belli*.

Mr. Froude's remedy for the ills he depicts, is British colonization. He would pay the way of the surplus population of the mother country to colonies which should be attached to her by every consideration of gratitude and interest. In this way he would preserve the British nationality, its greatness and power, undiminished.

factory-life is, would voluntarily choose it for the life-work of his children. We repeat our belief, that although manufacturing undoubtedly increases the material wealth of the nation, it does it, as now managed, at the expense of its manufacturing people, and that the real and ultimate value of it, to the true prosperity and abiding good of the Commonwealth, can only be learned, by placing money in one scale, and man in the other.

Inseparable from the general subject of labor and laborers, is the very important matter of *factory-child labor*. During about two years prior to the organization of this Bureau, its chief was employed in another department, (that of the State Constabulary,) to investigate the facts, and to endeavor to enforce the law limiting the hours of their employment, and providing for their schooling. Early in August, 1869, the duties under the law were assigned to Captain J. Waldo Denny, by Major Jones, whose report has been duly presented to the legislature. The suggestions that follow hereinbelow, are from notes by General Oliver, made prior to his appointment to this Bureau.

CHILDREN IN FACTORIES, THEIR EMPLOYMENT AND SCHOOLING.

In my two previous Reports (Senate Document No. 21, 1868, and Senate Document No. 44, 1869,) I gave certain statistical tables, in themselves very imperfect, because of the exceeding imperfection of the Factory-Child Law (chap. 285, Acts of 1867,) and because the absence of any compulsory legislation then rendered, and will continue to render, if the law be kept in its present loose form, all attempts at accurate research, wholly abortive. I then detailed the obstacles that nullified all attempt at its enforcement, setting forth nine separate points by which the law was so thoroughly emasculated as to render it of no effect whatever. It would certainly seem to one who should carefully scrutinize the phraseology of this law, as it has seemed to me, or rather, as it has been fully manifested to me, in attempting to enforce it, that the legislature which enacted it, in their earnest and most commendable zeal, that a gross evil should no longer be permitted, was hasty in its legislation; and that in the hope of righting the downright wrong of keeping at work, young children pent up in a factory-room, continuously, day after day, and those days of twelve to fourteen

hours each, in some instances, without interruption either for education or recreation, they permitted this law to be entered upon the statute book, with less cautious and shrewd consideration, and with less certainty that it would be effective, than its just claims and intent demanded. As the documents above referred to, in which these weaknesses were recorded, are nearly, if not quite out of print, I give them again here, and I must earnestly intreat that, for the sake of the moral, intellectual and physical well-being of these too much neglected children of the State, the legislature will examine the present statute, and recreate it, give it vitality, energy, and force, and confer upon the party, whoever he may be, that shall be required to put it into force, a power of enforcement that shall be adequate to cure the evil, prevent its recurrence, and relieve him from being the shadowy beadle of a shadowy law.

The law of 1867 provided that "no child under the age of ten years shall be employed in any manufacturing or mechanical establishment within this Commonwealth; and no child between the ages of ten and fifteen years shall be so employed, unless he has attended some public or private day school, under teachers approved by the school committee of the place in which such school is kept, at least three months during the year next preceding such employment: provided, said child shall have lived within the Commonwealth during the preceding six months." It then proceeds to define the meaning of "*three months' schooling in each and every year*," and further to declare that "no child under fifteen years of age shall be employed more than sixty hours in any one week;" it then provides the penalty (\$50,) in which shall be mulcted, any "owner, agent, superintendent or overseer of any manufacturing or mechanical establishment, who shall KNOWINGLY employ, or permit to be employed, any such child," and "any parent or guardian who allows or consents to such employment." And the "Constable of the Commonwealth is to detail ONE of his deputies" to enforce said law.

Now to an inexperienced eye this statute seems to be quite a forceful array of prohibitions, and to meet the case so emphatically, and with such plenary provision against violation that, every person, even were he unreasonably philanthropic, ought to be satisfied that the evil would be remedied, and the younglings

duly protected. But it has been tried, and found to be wholly ineffective, a mere parade of strong words, like a body-guard without arms—men, indeed, but with no weapons, offensive or defensive.

Here are its weaknesses :—

First. There is no power conferred by it, whereby the party detailed to attempt its execution can determinately secure satisfactory evidence of its having been violated. No owner, agent, superintendent, or overseer of any manufacturing or mechanical establishment, nor any parent or guardian would be likely to criminate himself, if called on as testimony in any case that might be attempted under the statute, in which such party was concerned.

Second. No power to enter any such establishment, in order to learn of any overt act under the law, is conferred upon any party whatever. Were the person detailed to its execution to be refused admittance to the premises of any party suspected, he could not move a step forward.

Third. No provision is made for the manner of prosecution, nor is any form of indictment prescribed, nor any court named before which parties charged with violation of the statute shall be summoned for trial.

Fourth. The law is unbending, and yields nothing in any cases, whatever, not even in those, and many such cases there be, where its rigid enforcement would be not only needless, but positively injurious to all parties concerned.

Fifth. Its own phraseology is not prohibitory, in certain cases against violations of its own provisions.

Sixth. It furnishes no system *by means of which the party detailed for its execution can learn the whereabouts of these several establishments*, nor, supposing he had succeeded measurably in doing so, does it furnish him with any directions whereby he may obtain such desired and detailed information as not only the general scope of the law would seem to embrace, but such as, under a law so vitally important, it would be more than desirable that the legislature should possess.

Seventh. It provides no system of documentary papers by the use of which information in the premises can be obtained, nor provided such paper were issued as interrogative circulars by the party detailed to see the enforcement of the law, does it insist upon replies being made by the parties addressed.

Eighth. It provides for no forms of certificates—and these should be uniform throughout the State,—nor for other necessary papers to

be used in determining either the age of a child employed, or the school attendance of such child, or length of time of employment in mill or elsewhere. It provides for no methods or books of registration to be kept by employers, setting forth the age and birthplace of the several children employed, the dates at which they commenced work, the amount of annual schooling, etc., etc., all of which, and many more, are essential to a perfect working of an exact and practical statute. In all these matters the English law is far preferable to ours.

Ninth. It makes it "the duty of the constable of the Commonwealth to detail ONE of his deputies," to see to compliance with the provisions of the act.

Now most clearly *one* man is wholly unequal to the task, for the statute refers to *every manufacturing and mechanical establishment in the Commonwealth*, wherein children under a certain age might be employed, and yet leaves the official who is to look after the infringements to the law to find out as best he may where those establishments may be, in a State abounding with them, and having them scattered all over its surface of about *eight thousand square miles*.

An attempt to canvass the three hundred and thirty-five cities and towns of Massachusetts, to visit each manufacturing and mechanical establishments therein, to confer with their several proprietors, superintendents or agents, as the case might be, and to see the enforcement of the law in each violation thereof, is found wholly impracticable.

To these, a case of prosecution attempted in Worcester, a few months since, has added another. The law specifies by title, the parties who shall forfeit the fine of fifty dollars if they offend against its provisions. They are "any owner, agent, superintendent, or overseer," or "any parent or guardian." Now the defendant in the above case, (of which I shall speak more at large hereinafter,) proved that he was *neither* "owner, agent, superintendent, nor overseer," but only a "contractor," to do certain work in the establishment wherein he had employed a certain lad between ten and fifteen years old, and that he was not the "parent or guardian of the boy," and so though he had employed him EIGHTEEN HOURS OUT OF TWENTY-FOUR, he wholly escaped punishment.

"They took no note of him and let him go."—*Dogberry*.

And so it will operate anywhere and everywhere, and any attempt to enforce it will, as a manufacturer personally and intimately familiar with the law from its start, confidently assured me, utterly fail.

Look, now, at another point: that to which I referred on page 16 of my second Report (January, 1869). The law requires that the children shall attend a day-school, the teachers of which are approved by the school committee of the town in which such school is kept. Now there is an abundance of instances in which the *intent* of the law is complied with, but not its *letter*, as on the part of the children of Catholic parents, who, taking their children from mills wherein they are employed, send them for three months to school; but it is to a school under instruction of Catholic teachers,—private schools over which, and over the teachers of which, school committees exercise no supervision, and are not called upon, even if empowered, (of which there may be a doubt,) to make examination, or pass approval. This is true of any private school of any denominational sect. It would, I think, be found, on examination, that by far the greater proportion of the children employed in our mills are of Catholic parents, for most of such children come from Irish or Canadian families; and I know that many such parents make it a point of conscience, not to send their children to schools taught by Protestants. But shall a child be refused work, because—though it may have attained such instruction as three months will give—it attained it at a school other than that named in the law? If the child can read, what matter is it where, or under whose instruction, it learned the art?

But the law is weak in another point, a point not surmised, but positively known. Careful, conscientious, law-abiding agents and overseers have told me, that they have kept true records of the *alleged* ages of children, and of the date of the entrance of such children into their employ, and have duly sent them out, that they might attend school, complying with the very letter of the law, but could never tell whether the children went to school, or whether they got employment at some other mill, taking other names or not, as they pleased, misrepresenting their ages, or falsely pretending that they had attended school as required by law.

Parents have taught their children to do these things, and where a lie comes in conveniently to secure employment and food and fuel, chilled and hungry human nature knoweth not how to resist, and lies. In former reports I have spoken at large on these matters, and subsequent experience confirms the truth of all I there said.

But is there no remedy for the wrong of depriving children of a proper education, and for the greater evils that will ensue, if an ignorant class of persons is permitted to grow up to increase the unnumbered host of ignorant men and women already with us, and to perpetuate a debased class crowded upon us, and still crowding in with every year, and threatening danger; nay, already weakening the foundations of the republic?

I believe now, with increased and increasing faith, that there is, and that it is to be found in persistent *education*; yea, in *compulsory* education, wherever it is refused by, or to those, who ought to have it. It had better come early than late, for come it must, and the Commonwealth, nay, the whole republic, by united action, positive law, and efficient execution of law, must insist upon it, and persist in it, *that every child in the land be educated. Were the power in my hands, no child under thirteen years of age should work at all in a mill, nor then, unless it had received the elements of an English education, and it should not work over eight hours a day*; and no person under eighteen years of age should work in a mill between six o'clock in the afternoon of one day, and six o'clock of the morning of the next day, nor should more than five hours of work elapse, without an interval of at least one hour for meals; and no person whatever should so work over ten hours in every twenty-four, excepting in extraordinary contingency of necessary repairs. And to secure this end, annual returns to some department of the State government, under oath, should be made by every corporate manufacturing and mechanical establishment in the State, the nature and details of which returns, with penalty for non-compliance, should be specially set forth by legislative enactment.

The State and the Republic is in danger of being controlled by corporations. Let early means of prevention be secured. In Massachusetts itself, spite of her law,—though whether

“spite of a law” is an expression worth using, when the law is itself a mere formula of prohibitory words,* a bark without a bite, may be questioned,—yet spite of her law, children, *under*, as well as over ten years, are employed over ten hours a day, and that too, in many cases, without the legal schooling; and yet the strong manner in which the fact has been represented to the legislature, has failed to secure an effective law preventive of the acknowledged evil. What between parents, covetous of the earnings of their children, or driven, as is true in many instances, by the unsparing necessities of positive want; or, because of idleness or dissolute habits, reckless of the moral and intellectual, or even physical growth of their own children, on the one hand,—and the inordinate pressure for gainful product, and greed of wealth of employers, on the other hand,—the poor children are subjected to a pretty effectual grinding, as between an upper and a nether mill-stone. God help them, if man’s law cannot!

But can it be possible, in this Commonwealth of Massachusetts, favored above States as she is, or as her people say she is, for they are somewhat of a boastful race, with all the blessings of highest civilization, the growth of a genuine Christian influence, that men can be found, regardless not only of the letter of her laws, but of their manifest spirit and intent, and regardless, too, in a case involving the best good of the tender younglings who are growing up to be the producers of her wealth, the indispensable toilers and workers in her countless hives of industry; can it be possible, that if this query meet, as it must, an affirmative reply, the State will permit a condition of things to exist, that must ultimately produce a moral and physical deterioration of her working people, and so by exhausting, year after year, both body and mind, find her producers less productive, their physical powers enfeebled and worn out, their minds dulled into a stolid stupidity incapable of thought and of invention, so that the ploughman shall only differ from the ox that he drives, by having two legs less; the hodman’s head and the bricks he bears, be on the same level; the toilers at machines of every name, be but as the machines they tend, if even that; and, at least all her laborers become lower than the lowest Gibeonite that ever drudged for Hebrew

* Vox et preterea nihil.—Virgil.

lord, and more sunken than the most hopeless Helot that ever toiled for Spartan master. Rather than that such measureless misery should come, and if there be no hope from those that now control, and deaf ears be turned to supplicating cry, I have only to pray that God, in mercy to the toilers and to the republic, will raise up, now and at once, from the toilers themselves, as of old He raised Moses from his brethren, the enslaved sons of Israel, ten thousand leaders from among themselves, inspired for the task, who, like him, shall lead their brethren out of the worse than Egyptian bondage that shall have fastened its chains around them, into a land where true and fair labor shall be the honored rule, and where it shall at last yield to the laborer, that share of the milk and honey, that is the just recompense of his toil.

Now that men greedy of gain, will exact labor to the uttermost power of muscle for the least penny of pay, let me cite some examples from the history of English factory life, and although, so far as I know, no such terrible and shameless cases have occurred here, yet it is about as well, or a good deal better, since human nature is not yet completely regenerate, to cite them by way of warning, so that prevention, an ounce of which is proverbially better than a pound of cure, may build up an impassible barrier against even the chance of such crimes.

I know full well, all the arguments that are the customary material of those who oppose legislation, when it seeks to protect overtasked labor. I have heard them so often that I am in no special peril of forgetting them. I have heard them from very many men, in very many ways of putting them, and in very many places—in the street, in the house, in the counting-room, and in the legislative hall. They have but one common basis,—or, rather, they who use them, employ one and a common and taking line of argument, an argument which grasped and denuded of its oratorical clothing and stripped to its bare skin is this: that the productive industry of a State, looked at as the pleader looks at it, at any given moment, from any given stand-point he may take, is the one, and only one most important to be considered and secured; that everything else must yield, even to the sacrifice of true principle and true morals;—that the proper office of government is to uphold such industry, even where it

attempts to strengthen its present position at the sacrifice of the brain and body of those engaged in such industry;—that any and every stretch of the working capability of laborers, old and young, man, woman or child, is justifiable to sustain it; and that, finally, it is better to ignore all effort to keep in permanent and vigorous prosperity all working capabilities, rather than to lose any instant benefit;—in fact, it is simply sacrificing the abiding prosperity and happiness of a country, the preservation of which is really the result of its industry, rather than to infringe upon any present and local advantage, or success of trade. Secure present success, spite of mind, brain, body, blood, or bones.

To call this policy an adroit cruelty intended to benefit present employers, leaving ultorians to take care of themselves, which they will be likely to do in the same manner, and by the same means, and so to perpetuate a system of oppressive labor ruthlessly wrong, is to use an expression of timid meekness and submissive courtesy, while an outspoken and truthful definition would demand words of condemnation that the language of man has not yet furnished.

But to return and cite examples of overwork of children in English factories, *before* the enactment of the ten-hour law.

Under the operation of the factory-apprentice system, the pauper children were sent from English poorhouses to be “used as the cheapest raw material in the market.” Mill owners communicated with overseers of the poor, and when preliminary arrangements upon the matter of demand and supply had been satisfactorily adjusted, the children, on a day appointed, were selected and then taken to their destination. This process was at first conducted by mill-owners or their agents. But subsequently the affair became a matter of business conducted by traffickers, who contracted with overseers for a certain lot of children, whom they conveyed to Manchester, or other manufacturing centres, where they were kept, sometimes, the record declares “in dark cellars,” to which employers resorted, and after due examination of limb, muscle, and stature, made their selection, closed their bargain, and took away their purchase, and from that time, as a general rule, they were lost to parent and relative. The general treatment of these apprentices depended on the will of their masters, their labor in many

instances being limited by bodily exhaustion, often under force ; their food was stinted and unwholesome, and in brisk times, when two sets of children were employed for day and night work, one set rose, and the other immediately occupied the same beds. Before the application of steam power to factory work, mills were placed wherever water power could be found, and this was frequently in secluded situations, out of the way of inhabitants, "on the lonely banks of mountain streams, to which wagon loads of little boys and girls were sent by parish authorities, and from the principal towns of England and Scotland, to undergo hardships, the bare mention of which fills the soul with shame for the crimes man has committed against his fellows." "They were worked," the record adds, "for sixteen hours and upwards, with few and trifling intermissions, day and night being devoted to constant labor ;" "in stench, in heated rooms, amid the constant whirling of a thousand wheels, their little fingers and feet kept in ceaseless action, forced into unnatural activity by blows from the heavy hands and feet of merciless overlookers, and the infliction of bodily pain by instruments of punishment. The necessities and decencies of life were but little cared for in some cases, and in many fatally neglected. Education, as a rule, was entirely unprovided for. Children have dropped down from exhaustion, the fingers of little ones have been snapped off, and bodies caught in the iron gripe of machinery have been whirled to destruction."

"The well-attested memoir of Robert Blincoe" contains an account of the food supplied to these children, which but for such attestation could not be believed—the very pigs in styes near the mills "faring sumptuously every day" in comparison.

From the works whence these statements are derived,* works replete with narratives of cruelty unsurpassed by any ever inflicted on black slaves by the thong of Southern overseer, I could fill page upon page with extracts teeming with the cruelties of savage tyranny. In fact I know of no works that I would more readily recommend as thoroughly prepared food for a mind morbidly desirous of gloating over a feast of horrors, and supping to the full on the agonies of human martyrdom.

It is well said (Alfred,† p. 27, Vol. 1) that it was "impossible

* Wing's Factory.

† Alfred's "History of the Factory Movement."

that a system which jested with civilization, laughed at humanity, and made a mockery of every law of physical and moral health, and of the principles of natural and social order, could remain unchecked," and it so turned out that when mill-owners and statesmen let matters alone, or said that "all complaints were ill-founded," disease and death came to the rescue, and seizing the trumpet of alarm, they—

"Blew a blast so loud and dread,
Were ne'er prophetic sound so full of woe."

Fever, nourished in crowded sleeping rooms, and ill-ventilated factories, and fattened on bodies long unconscious of water and cleanliness, after tasting of the lowlier victims, found its appetite sharpened for more highly seasoned food,* and not confining its foraging to "lonely dells and scattered villages," where its victims had been thinned out by fever's trusty ally, death, and where grim terror had come in, and by scattering and depopulating, had lessened the supply, assailed the higher mansions, and made food of nobler flesh; and then, at last, alarm lifted a shout, proclaiming that the hospitals were overcrowded by factory patients, and that the hideous messenger, not confining his carnage there, was slaughtering, with reckless indiscrimination, the simple and the wise, the high and the low, the rich and the poor, and rioting equally mid rags and velvet in his deadly feast. This was a very bad state of affairs. Death had leaped over the great gulf, impassable but to him, between the higher and the lower classes, and at once the demand was met for remedial preventive means. Investigation by medical authorities, showed that children and other operatives working in large factories, are peculiarly disposed to be affected by contagion of fever, which not confining itself among their fellows, spreads among the families in their neighborhood; that large factories are injurious to the constitution of those working therein, even where no special disease prevails, because of close confinement, the debilitating effect of hot and impure air, and the want of exercise and recreation in outside atmosphere; that the untimely labor of the night, and the protracted labor of the day, extending to fourteen, fifteen, sixteen and eighteen hours per day, operating on children, not only

* The History of Witchcraft in Salem, supplies a parallel.

tends to diminish the future expectation of life and the general amount of productive industry, by impairing the strength and destroying the vigor of the rising factory generation, but is tending to promote idleness and profligacy on the part of heartless parents who subsist on the labor of their children; that these children are debarred from all opportunities of education, and from moral and religious instruction; that it is clear from the excellent regulations and practice in exceptional factories, that many of these evils may be obviated, and that the wise, thoughtful, and foresighted, the liberal employers, would aid in establishing a general system of laws, for the humane and just government of factory works. And so it proved, and after years of struggling, an effective ten-hour law for children, young persons, and women was enacted, and is enforced.

But to return more closely to the point in hand, I wish to refer to the case specified in my Report for 1869, page 18,—that of children employed in the Naumkeag Mills in Salem, by the two overseers who appealed to the superior court, from a decision and fine against them, at the police court. The case has never, to my knowledge, been brought to trial, but the good influences created by the procedure, led to the application of a better remedy than a fine imposed by law, and that is the establishment of a school for factory children, the history of which may be gathered from what follows:

On the 18th of February last, I addressed a note to John Kilburn, Esq., agent of the Naumkeag Mills, requesting a copy of the original letter from the President of the Corporation to the School Committee of Salem, on the subject of the establishment of a factory-child school. The following is his reply:

NAUMKEAG STEAM COTTON COMPANY, }
SALEM, MASS., February 21, 1870. }

General H. K. OLIVER.

DEAR SIR:—Absence from home prevented an earlier reply to your favor of the 18th instant. Herewith I enclose a copy of a letter addressed to our President, Mr. Huntington, which was by him laid before the School Committee of this city, for their consideration. It received prompt attention at their hands, and resulted in the establishment, on a liberal scale, of such a school as the case demanded, and it has thus far proved an eminently successful institution and source of comfort to the mills of this company. The

teacher selected for it has thrown her heart into her work and shown superior qualifications for the position, and has received a hearty and generous support from the School Committee and Superintendent of Schools, and hence the success.

Yours truly,

JOHN KILBURN, *Agent.*

Here follows the letter to the President, Hon. A. Huntington:—

SALEM, April 15, 1869.

Hon. A. HUNTINGTON, *President.*

DEAR SIR:—In reply to your interrogatories relative to the steps necessary to enable us to comply with the letter, as well as the spirit, of the present laws in regard to the employment, in manufacturing establishments, of children under fifteen years of age, I would say that I have given much thought and attention to the subject, and have tried many expedients to accomplish the object in view, having the good of the children as much at heart as the law-makers could have. Many of my efforts have proved futile, from the fact that the law does not apply to all classes of employers; as, frequently, when we have [sent children out of the mills to go to school, they have sought and obtained employment from individuals not included in the law; and the only results in such cases have been, that *we* have been deprived of their services and *they* have received no benefit from the change, either in money or education. This illustration applies to a large portion of those sent so out, and must continue to apply so long as the necessities of the parents, real or imaginary, overbalance their estimate of the value of education, or compel them to avoid such estimate; and in many cases our attempts to inspire them with an idea of the true value of education and the necessity of a compliance with the law, have proved fruitless. I believe some of the parents are inclined to ignore the law from a religious point of view, preferring that their children should be educated (if at all,) in the schools of their own church, which are excluded by the law unless approved by the School Committee. Therefore, after considering the matter carefully from the different points of view originating in my own mind, and from the various points to which my attention has been called by others who have given their attention to the subject, I am able to see but one way of accomplishing the object which we so much desire. That is, to offer an incentive which will overcome the selfishness as well as the necessities of parents, and stimulate them to action. I find money to be that incentive, and the only one which will produce action.

The question which now arises is this: How can this incentive be applied so as to benefit one party without damaging the other? I believe it can be done in this way:—If the School Committee can be induced to establish a school which our operatives, and those of the other manufacturing establishments in the city, can attend one-half of each day, (or three hours,) and be employed the other half of each day, (or five and one-half hours,) the manufacturers can employ two sets of hands (one to work in the forenoon and the other in the afternoon,) and pay them two-thirds as much (or more if necessary,) for half time as they now do for full time, with the understanding that, if they absent themselves from school, a deduction will be made in their compensation, just as if they had been absent from work. The parents would then interest themselves, and the object would be accomplished. We should thus be able to give employment to a large number now running in the streets, learning much that is vile and bad, and nothing which they so much need to know. This would accomplish the spirit of the law, and I cannot conceive of any other way in which this incentive can be applied, so as to benefit the one without damage to the other. If such a school were established, I think we could, in a few days, furnish forty or more scholars for it; and hoping that the School Committee as well as yourself may think favorably of the suggestion,

I am yours, &c.,

JOHN KILBURN, *Agent.*

This letter was placed before the directors of the mills, and by them at once acted upon, in the appointment of a committee to petition the School Committee to establish the needed school. Their note was as follows:—

To the School Committee of the City of Salem.

We, the undersigned, a committee in behalf of the directors and stockholders of the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company, in Salem, wish to put ourselves in harmony with chapter 42 of the General Statutes in relation to the employment of children under fifteen years of age, and the laws in addition thereto, in the matter of their schooling and education, and for this purpose request you, with the consent of the city council, to establish an ungraded school, with as little delay as may be practicable, for the benefit and instruction of children residing in the city coming within the purview of that statute, and such other children of the city, as, from their employments, are necessarily irregular in their attendance at the schools. We believe this class of scholars to be a dis-

turbing element in the schools, and that their collection into a separate school will operate favorably on the general working of our school system, while it will greatly benefit that portion of the children of the city employed in our manufacturing establishments. We have in our own mill some forty or more children of the class referred to, and we believe that by the establishment of a school in some convenient part of the city, having a just reference to other similar establishments, an attendance would readily be secured quite large enough for one school. We take the liberty to suggest our desire to coöperate in all regulations of the School Committee which shall tend to make such a school, as is here proposed, as widely useful as possible. And in this connection we ask leave to call your attention to some practical views of Mr. Kilburn, our superintendent, (who has paid much attention to the subject,) as contained in his letter to the president of the company, herewith submitted.

(Signed,) ASAHEL HUNTINGTON,
WM. C. ENDICOTT,
FRANCIS COX.

Committee of Directors.

SALEM, April 19, 1869.

These letters were laid before the School Committee, and all necessary preliminaries having been arranged, the school was established, and is now (March 7, 1870,) in efficient working order. Mr. Kilburn generously presented an excellent melodeon to assist the children in their musical practice.

More minute details of information respecting the school are contained in the following letter from J. Kimball, Esq., Superintendent of Schools in Salem :—

SALEM, Jan. 13, 1870.

Gen. H. K. OLIVER, *Chief of Bureau of Statistics of Labor, Boston.*

DEAR SIR :—In accordance with your request of the 10th inst. I herewith transmit the information asked.

The first distinct reference to a school for manufacturing establishments, appears on the record of a meeting of the School Committee, held March 15, 1869, in the third of a series of resolutions offered by a committee appointed to consider the subject of truancy, whereof Judge Choate was chairman, which resolution is in these words :—

Resolved, "That we desire, at the hands of the city government, rooms and accommodations for a school or schools, ungraded, for

the instruction of such children, as from confirmed habits of tardy or irregular attendance, or other cause, it shall be deemed best to remove from the schools in which they have ordinarily attended, and also for the use and accommodation of the children employed in manufacturing establishments, in which a course of instruction and education, specially adapted to the wants of these classes, may be pursued."

Subsequently, April 19, 1869, a communication was presented by yourself to the board, from Asahel Huntington, William C. Endicott, and Francis Cox, a committee of the directors of the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Mills, expressing a wish to have the provisions of law in relation to the employment of children under fifteen years of age, and the laws in relation thereto in the matter of their schooling and education, complied with in this city, by the establishment of an ungraded school for such children; and also asking the attention of the board to some practical views of Mr. Kilburn, their superintendent, contained in a letter to the president of the company, accompanying their communication.

This was referred, with Mr. K's letters, to a committee of three, of which you were the chairman.

At the same meeting, Judge Choate offered the following order, which was referred to the same committee, with instructions to report at an early day:—

Ordered, That a special school for the instruction of such pupils, as in the judgment of the School Committee cannot be properly classed in the graded schools, be hereby established, to be kept in such convenient room as shall be provided by the city council therefor,—the course of instruction therein to be adapted to the wants of the class of pupils whose needs are not met by the regular course in our graded schools.

Mr. S. B. Ives moved, and the motion was adopted, that the same committee report such amendments to the Regulations as may be necessary for carrying out the object of the order.

At a special meeting of the board, held May 4th, called at the request of the special committee, just referred to, the report of said committee was submitted by its Chairman, General Oliver, recommending that "an ungraded school for factory children be established; that the salary of the teacher be fixed at \$600 per annum [subsequently raised to \$700;] that the general oversight of the school be assigned to a special sub-committee; that instruction therein be given in reading, spelling, writing, with elementary drawing on slates and blackboards; arithmetic, comprising the simple and compound rules; fractions, common and decimal; propor-

tion and interest, with singing by rote, and simple indoor gymnastics; and that Miss Margaret A. Dunn be teacher of the school.

At the same meeting, Mr. Cross offered the following order, which was adopted under suspension of the rules:—

Ordered, That the sub-committee, who have reported upon the establishment of a school for factory children, be authorized to make all necessary arrangements for such school, and to employ a teacher in accordance with their report.

Under the authority thus conferred, the school was opened in the room hitherto used as a ward-room by Ward Five, on the 7th of June following,—said room having been thoroughly cleaned, painted, provided with new and improved furniture, and water. Miss Margaret A. Dunn has been the teacher, since its beginning, and has carried on the school successfully, both as to study and discipline,—having carefully administered the latter without corporal punishment.

The number of pupils at commencement was: boys 25, girls 29,—54. The number of pupils at present is: boys 42, girls 31,—73. Their ages are from ten to fifteen years. They attend, five days in the week, five hours each day, in sessions of $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours each, working and studying in two divisions,—one in the mornings, and one in the afternoons.

The school has no vacations, as such, but takes legal holidays, such as July 4th, Thanksgiving, &c., thus continuing through the entire fifty-two weeks of the year.

The pay per week of the children, if not at school, is withheld, as a penalty of non-attendance, in proportion to their delinquency in this respect.

Mr. Kilburn writes me that children under fifteen, employed by the week, are paid from \$10 to \$12 for four weeks; while those employed in "piece work," range from \$12 to \$20 per four weeks. Those attending school receive, on an average, about two-thirds of these prices.

The *animus* of the school, as may be inferred from a fact before alluded to, is excellent, and habits of good order are communicated from the steady and consistent treatment received there, which is gradually influencing the conversation and habits of the children, as they are noticed in the streets and elsewhere.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

JONA. KIMBALL,

Sup. of Schools.

The following letter from Charles J. Goodwin, Esq., agent of the Indian Orchard Mills, Springfield, gives an account of the half-time school for factory children employed at that mill.

OFFICE OF INDIAN ORCHARD MILLS, }
INDIAN ORCHARD, Jan. 22, 1870. }

Genl. H. K. OLIVER.

DEAR SIR:—Your favor, asking for the “origin, establishment, *modus operandi*, educational results, &c., &c., of our half-time, or factory school,” is at hand.

At the instigation of Edward Atkinson, Esq., treasurer, measures were taken, in the fall of 1868, to establish a “half-time,” or factory school, so that those children in the employ of the Indian Orchard Mills, whose parents could not support them if sent to school three months each year as required by law, might be enabled to attend school a part of each day, and yet not be a burden to their parents. The school was opened December 14th, 1868, with thirty scholars in attendance, and this number has been kept up through the year. The children work in the mills in the forenoon, and attend school in the afternoon; commencing at one o'clock and closing at four P. M., when they return to their work. Fifteen minutes recess is allowed each session. We find that the amount earned by “half-time” children, on job work, is nearly, and in many cases, quite as much as formerly earned on *full* time, and it can be easily explained. In the first place, take, for instance, the spooling. We stop these frames at noon, and the yarn is allowed to accumulate. When the children return from school they take hold in earnest, under the incentive of attending school, and an ambition to earn as much as possible. We find that before noon of the next day, the work is all up. It may be asked if is not too much for them to do in eight hours, what was formerly considered a day's work? I answer, that before the establishment of “half-time,” the children, from sickness and other causes, were absent from their work from one to four days per month, while now we seldom have an absence reported. The children attending school, and who work by the day or week, are now paid for three-quarters time for each and every day they attend school, and in no case have we yet had a complaint for this reduction, but are constantly receiving applications from families for work, *simply because their children can attend school and at the same time be earning something*. This brings a much better class of help to our mills. And this fact alone would pay us for all of the trouble.

As to “educational results,” I think the children have made as much progress in their studies, as those of same age in “full-time”

schools. A marked change for the better, is seen in the deportment and personal appearance of the children, as shown in the report of Miss Sheldon, the teacher, and we can but be satisfied with the result. E. A. Hubbard, Esq., superintendent of schools, has labored hard to make this a success, and I think he now considers it one of the established schools of the city. It of course occasions some inconvenience in the mills, to allow the children who work by the week to be absent from their work a part of each day, and we have had to require the older ones to do some extra work during school hours. This difficulty can be overcome by holding *two* sessions of this school each day, and employing *two* sets of children in the mills. For instance, one of set of children will attend school in the forenoon, while the other at work in the mills. These will take their places in the school-room in the afternoon, and their places in the mill will be filled by forenoon scholars. This will occasion no interruption whatever in the running of the mills. We hope to be able to adopt this plan the coming season.

Yours truly,

CHAS. J. GOODWIN, *Agt.*

Especial attention is earnestly asked to the account given of these two schools, and to that at Fall River, given in Senate Doc. No. 44, 1869, p. 27. They are on the model successfully carried out by many of the best manufacturing establishments in England, and the compensation allowed to the children during school attendance, obviates the objections founded on poverty, made by many parents, to their sending their children to school. The example is worthy of imitation, while it is to be lamented *that in no other manufacturing towns in the State has this excellent precedent been followed.* No such schools exist at Lowell, Lawrence, Pittsfield, North Adams, Taunton, Worcester, nor in any of the other towns where children are largely employed. Nor is it known that the School Committees of other towns have given any special attention to the subject. No unity of action in the State appears to exist in reference to them, though their position, somewhat apart from the ordinary schools of the State, would seem to render their success a subject of special interest. Succeeding where tried in England, and doing the very best of service, there is no reason why they should not succeed here. They meet a demand never before met. The class of children who attend them, whenever sent, as for-

merly in Fall River, Springfield and Salem, to the ordinary schools, was always a disturbing element, disarranging classes, interrupting instruction and progress, and taxing the patience of teachers who already had troubles enough to endure, without this addition. The children themselves, too, were at a great disadvantage. Thrown into classes for which they were indifferently, if at all qualified, they were an annoyance to their mates, and subject to a natural but unnecessary mortification. Classed by themselves, in schools purposely devoted to meet their special needs and position, all these difficulties are obviated; they are among their peers and equals, and can stand their ground. A new world is opened to them, and not discouraged by a hopeless contest with scholars advanced beyond their degree of learning; not disconcerted by the ridicule so often thrown at defective scholarship; not sorrowing because their failings act as a drag and burden upon the regular and constant members of the school to which they are temporarily consigned; they work at equal advantage with their comrades in their own special class, and though their steps are timid and stumbling, as they first enter upon the novel path of wisdom, they gather courage with success, make every moment of time of most momentous importance to themselves, and, as all testimony goes to show, though favored with but half an allowance of time, they come out, in the long run, but little, if any, behind their more favored fellows of the whole-time schools. Favoring, as we do, the education of laboring children *before* they enter upon the labor from which their subsistence is to come, we yet urge, with all the earnestness with which we can plead, the establishment of such half-time schools in all manufacturing neighborhoods, if the better matter of the preliminary education cannot be obtained. As an expedient they are a welcome benefit, though the *continuous* half-time school is better than the three months' schooling, followed by nine months' work, as at the Fall River school. In the continuous school, order, obedience, steady progress, cleanliness and interest in the school, are kept alive. In the interrupted school, these are measurably lost. But, in our judgment, neither are so good as the constant schooling which gives an education *before* the child goes to work, because, besides a multitude of other substantial reasons, we object to all class schools, and factory schools are as much

class schools, as were the old-time colored schools. Let these children have their education *before* they go to work as all other children are allowed to have it, before they go to work in learning their trades. I have urged this point in my two Reports on factory children, and here repeat it, that the better way is to provide by law that *no child shall be employed under the age of thirteen years, (to be certified to by a physician,) nor then unless such child had received instruction in the elements of a common English education, that fact to be certified to by the School Committee of the town wherein the child lives or is employed.*

We take it for granted that no matured experience will deny that any kind of long continued bodily labor, without relaxation of play and relief of study, is injurious to children,—and that they require more freedom, more chance at fresh air, more out-of-door exercise than adults. Their long continued employment in factories, away from all home influence, destroys the home attachment and home affections, and their subjection to the rough usage too often encountered under a driving overseer, tends to depress them when under that control, and to make tyrants of them, when they become themselves adult masters of other children. *At this moment, spite of all law, children under fifteen years of age and some under ten, are employed in factories all over the State, ELEVEN HOURS A DAY.* And that is known from returns received by the Bureau of Statistics of Labor, wherein the fact is confessed, and the law is confessedly too weak to reach and remedy the mischief. The employer, whenever he takes the precaution to protect himself against any possible operation of the law, calls upon the parents of children employed, for a statement of age, and *the parents, desirous of employment for their children, and greedy of their gains, and knowing the legal limitation of age, either misstate orally, or sign a certificate giving births at false dates.* The absence of system and of effective power in the premises, neutralizes all efforts at just and proper remedy, and at prevention of fraud. The law is a dead letter;—but that a law may be enacted that shall be quick and animate with life, and certain and powerful in efficacy, it were an insult to legislative ingenuity and justice, to deny. With the warning which the history of foreign labor and laborers gives us, with their “moral, social, educational and sanitary condition” standing before our

eyes, let us not repeat the short-sighted and ruinous policy pursued abroad, up to the period of the short-time Act. If we do, we shall be accountable, and fearfully so, to society, to the State, to these young laborers, and to God. We must protect them against the greed of parent, or employer, or of both; and must look with the closest scrutiny after those, who knowingly or unknowingly, under any plea or excuse, violate an acknowledged right, or violate a law of even words only, where such unspeakably vast interests are at stake.

[The foregoing pages from p. 134 to p. 155, relating to Children in Factories, is given by H. K. OLIVER.]

CASE OF JAMES PRESTON.

The case of this lad, a boy under fifteen years of age, and reported to have been made insane by overwork, attracted a good deal of notice at the time of its occurrence, in October, 1869. Deeming it to come within the function of the Bureau to learn whether an instance of such insanity had taken place under the alleged treatment, and whether the sanitary condition of a laborer had been put in jeopardy by an employer, we summoned Mr. Reeves, the party having a contract at the Quinsigamond Iron Works at Worcester, at which the lad worked, and after a careful hearing of three hours, ascertained the following facts: The boy is of Irish parentage, under fifteen years of age; was reported in the papers of the day, as having been employed at these Works, to such an extent of time, working night and day, that he broke down, became insane and was placed under charge of Dr. Bemis, at the Worcester State Hospital. Mr. Reeves (Geo. W.) promptly replied to our summons, and appeared for examination. He very frankly and fully, and to minute particulars, answered all questions, remarking, by the way, in the course of the interview, that he had never known of any laws relating to the schooling of factory children under fifteen years of age, or restricting their time to ten hours of daily work. He was accompanied by Mr. Albert Newbury, agent of the works, and by Mr. Joseph Pardoe, an employé. His testimony was as follows:

Is of English birth, and forty-two years of age. Is employed under contract at the aforesaid works to manufacture iron and steel wire; has worked thirteen years, being engaged year by year,

and under contract by rolling iron and steel rods into wire; is paid by the ton; hires his own help, and has twelve adults and two boys, the adults ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five years, and the boys being below fifteen—none under ten; four of the adults are under twenty-one. Work is according to the following table, the hands being divided into two sets of seven each, viz., six men and one boy, one set working by day and the other by night.

TABLE OF WORK.—*Day Set.*

Beginning at 6.20 A. M.,	work till 9;	stop 30 minutes.
“ at 9.30 A. M.,	“ 12;	“ 60 “
“ at 1 P. M.,	“ 3;	“ 30 “
“ at 3.30 P. M.,	“ 5.30;	set stops.
On Saturday P. M., work from 1 to 4 o'clock.		

Night Set.

Beginning at 6.20 P. M.,	work till 9;	stop 30 minutes.
“ at 9.30 P. M.,	“ 12;	“ 60 “
“ at 1 A. M.,	“ 3;	“ 30 “
“ at 3.30 A. M.,	“ 5.30;	set stops.

No work is done between Saturday afternoon and Monday morning. The day set of one week becomes the night set of the next week, and so on alternately. Taking, therefore, any *two* weeks, each set works ninety-nine hours and fifty minutes, equivalent to about eight hours and twenty minutes per day; or taking the day work alone, the day set works nine hours and ten minutes on five days of the week, and eight hours and ten minutes on Saturday; and taking the night work alone, the night set works nine hours and ten minutes for five nights, and none on Saturday night. The man who works six days in any week, works but five nights the next week; and the labor is exchanged week by week. This method applies to the rolling work, which is the only one under Mr. Reeves's contract. No boy who works in the day time is *called* upon to work at night during that same week. If a boy, of himself, asks for night work, he has sometimes been allowed to work till nine o'clock; or if the regular night boy is absent from any cause, a day boy has been allowed to take his place, but not after nine o'clock. One instance occurred in the spring of 1869, when a boy, this same James Preston, at his own importunity, was permitted to work through the night succeeding his day's work. This was on a Friday night, but he did not work at all on Saturday, *nor till the following Monday night*, he being a night hand for that week.

Cases of boys working at their own request till nine o'clock P. M., do not occur once in two months, and this case of Preston, who was fifteen years old in April, 1869, who worked all night after working all day, is the only one that ever occurred at the Works. Preston came to work March 25, 1867, and worked, alternating like the rest, till October 8, 1869, a period of 758 days, of which he worked 460 days, and was unemployed 298 days. He attended school in Quinsigamond, but was 'expelled for disorderly conduct, and sent to the truant-school. His father made application for work for the lad, and as he worked in the same establishment, the boy was employed, though he was not in rugged health, nor fit for the business. He was taken ill on Thursday night, October 14, soon after coming to work. The boy was never a well boy from his birth, nor have the other children of the family been such. He himself fell from a chestnut tree and hurt his head, a short time prior to the manifestation of insanity.

Mr. Reeves testified that it was exceedingly difficult to teach him anything, from lack of mental capacity. The lad had been for two years a great consumer of chewing tobacco.

The following letter is from a physician in Worcester who has attended the family, and was in reply to inquiries addressed to him from the Bureau:—

WORCESTER, November 29, 1869.

General H. K. OLIVER.

DEAR SIR:—My knowledge in regard to the boy Preston, of Quinsigamond, now at Insane Asylum, is briefly this:—

For about four years I have been professionally acquainted with the family;—father and mother are healthy; I know of only three children, all of whom have been under my care; oldest is a delicate married woman; next this boy; and then a young girl, of rather poor health; none of the children have been ever really strong.

I first saw this boy in December, 1867, when he had a very mild and transitory attack of mania, lasting less than a week; I could learn no predisposing or exciting cause.

Since then I have occasionally seen him, by chance, and have considered that his mind was a little impaired,—not up to the standard of brightness.

His present attack came on more gradually, and is very much more severe.

I learn that he has been in the habit of using tobacco to excess,

as most of the working boys do; but am told that he rarely, if ever, tasted spirit.

I think that at the time I first attended him, I advised his father to give the boy some light occupation, as on a farm, away from the influence of a crowd of bad boys; I did not advise his being sent regularly to school. I believe I gave no advice concerning the boy from December, 1867, till called to attend him in this present attack; I may have done so, but have no record or remembrance of so doing.

I should say that the boy's general health had been fair, but not robust.

Very truly yours,

GEO. E. FRANCIS.

After this testimony, it seemed that the lad's insanity had no connection with his work, but inasmuch as it appeared that he had, on the occasion brought out in the examination, been employed more than the legal number of hours per day, the case was reported to the State Constable, who brought a suit against Mr. Reeves therefor, in the Worcester police court, resulting in the discharge of the defendant on a legal technicality, *he showing that he was not included within the list of parties named in the statute*, they being "owner, agent, superintendent, or overseer," while he was simply a "*contractor*," A new proof was thus afforded of the feebleness of the law.

THE WAGE SYSTEM AND ITS RESULTS.

The past history of labor with its attendant legislation, is indeed full of encouragement, but it is also full of warning;—encouragement to move forward towards the attainment of that exact justice which secures permanent good, peace, and prosperity to all; warning, lest power should become despotic, either through capital, made mad by excess, or through labor, made bitter and brutal by want, and thus there be inaugurated the tyranny of monopoly on the one hand, or of mob on the other, one of which is the father of luxury and corruption, the other the brother of despair and crime.

Now does it not seem a legitimate inference that a system of compensation for labor, which after so long a trial, terminates in so disastrous results, is radically wrong? Does it not seem plain, that a system which, with capital on the one side, and

labor on the other, elements in their real nature, not only not antagonistic, but necessary allies, each re-inforcing the other, has generated a condition of society in which enormous wealth is the complement to unspeakable poverty,—with the cancer of this poverty eating into the body of the Commonwealth, wasting away and finally destroying its life, must be a stupendous mistake. It had indeed grown up from the most obvious method of arranging business matters between capital and labor, and that is, from an arrangement of wage, of so much money for so much labor. Men's minds had not become advanced enough, or rather the inspiration had not then been received, of inaugurating a system which, while it does not ask the postponement, to any remote future, of the realization of gain, makes that gain secure, enriches him that gives and him that receives, brings fulfilled hope and cheerful heart to the laborer, meets every reasonable demand of the employer, attaches each to the other in bonds of friendly endeavor and personal interest, advances the moral and intellectual culture of all, and so brings society in view of its highest and most abiding good. In fact, it is that system under which slavery retires before freedom, wage before coöperation, evil before good. When that cometh to pass, a millennial stride will have been taken in the march of humanity, and a truth mightier than any since the revelation of Christianity, will flash its light upon the world. For, although, in this nineteenth century, the chains have been struck off from whole races of men, although serf and slave have been set free, and color stands emancipated before the law,—labor, spite of all oratorical prattle about its inherent dignity, has become neither respectable nor desirable.

It may be argued here that a system such as has been hinted, will tend to lessen the income of the chief employer, or employers, inasmuch as it will not be possible to enlarge that of the working producers, except by such curtailment. Yes, that is conceded, and the principle is susceptible of easy defence. Historically, it is true that hitherto, as well as now, the actual producer gets by far the smallest share, a share out of all proportion to his brain-work, his muscle-work, and the time, dexterity, health, and devotion he contributes. As a general rule, whatsoever is undesirable and of evil report, falls to his lot, while most of what is desirable and of good report goes else-

where. If the method of the management of our great corporations should be investigated, it will be found that a very good percentage of actual earnings goes to the highest officials, any reduction of wages not affecting them; that the sale of goods manufactured, absorbs considerably more, while stockholders receive such percentage of the balance as may not be consumed in paying costs. Annual salaries of from \$10,000 to \$25,000, or even more, are not unknown, and where the sales of the goods of several companies are concentrated in single firms, pecuniary advancement thereby is a pretty certain consequence.

In contrast to this it is in testimony that cannot be broken down, that not one in ten thousand workmen has ever been able to do more than merely live, seldom consuming the work even of his own hands. The system of wage has always been to get the most for the least, and under it thrift so nearly resembles impossibility, that they may easily pass for twin-sisters. This better system is to render saving possible, and provision for sickness, infirmity, and old age practicable. It is to render life a comfort and a desire, and not a burden and an offence. It is to render existence alluring, desirable as a gift to a not yet embodied soul; to create a new order of beings which, like a swarming hive of bees, will teem with energetic life, profitable each to the other, each to all and all to each; a new order of men who may be ranked as real, and not nominal members of society, readers, thinkers, actors in good things, living not in luxury, (God forbid!) but in steadfast comfort, and with such surroundings as men's natural taste will suggest, and men's ambitious industry will justify. For we believe that man is by nature esthetic, and that when his taste is wakened, even but little, so that it perceives the convenience and advantage of many things which were denied to him, when the limit of his wages was what would just feed and clothe him, he will find himself urged on to increased industry, that he may secure increased conveniences and advantages, and these acquired, serve as nourishment for further growth and improvement. Now the necessities of life are twofold, those that feed, clothe and shelter, and nothing more; and those that educate, cultivate and adorn. The former are the absolute, and the latter the artificial necessities, and for the full happiness of men the lat-

ter are as indispensable as the former, and we believe that the better system for which a true philanthropy and a true policy plead, will provoke men to use faithful labor to secure them. But to bring about a consummation so devoutly to be wished, the desire ought to be general, the object something beyond what a man has ever actually reached, and the attainment sure to follow a persistent, industrious effort. But the tendency of the wage system, as all history proves, has always been, and will always be to keep men in the condition of "the ox that treadeth out the corn," and of "the bullock that grindeth in the mill," these beasts, however, having this advantage that they have no families to provide for, and cannot run into debt, and so be degraded into pauperism. Could they anticipate their immolation to supply the shambles with beef, it might be a possible joy that they will be of use after death, a privilege which large numbers of the human family do not enjoy.

Now, the testimony gathered by the bureau indicates that low-paid laborers, as a class, seem to have abandoned all hope and expectation, and pretty nearly all thought, of extricating themselves, or of being extricated by any human delivery, from the slough of despond in which, for generations, they and their fathers have been engulfed and have wallowed, till mental, moral, and physical grime seems to be their normal condition. And other testimony shows that both they, and the higher skilled and better paid workman *are in debt*, having been compelled by the burdens of the present day, to borrow the strength of the future, itself unequal to the load that shall task its energies. Nay, in another form of stating this unwelcome truth, the morrow of the largest portion of labor is mortgaged for the necessary expenses of yesterday. To him it is despair, not hope, that drives the spur. Saturday eve, when his weekly wage comes to him, and which should bring comfort and joy to him, is robbed of half its happiness, and Sunday becomes a blank of indolent repose. No cheerful smile greets a returning father whose six days' earnings pay for but five days' meat. Even "pay-day" after a month's toil, has been known to bring a cloud of darkness to an industrious, temperate man, who knew not how to divide his earnings among a crowd of creditors. We have a case in testimony from a factory operative having a family, and who worked in a mill for which it was claimed that

high wages was the rule, that when pay-day came, and he received his earnings and returned home, there was no joy, but "weeping and lamentation," because the indebtedness of the household for the month's support swallowed up the whole, and "asked for more."

So debt is a sorrow, and a perpetual slavery. It manacles the mind, as it once imprisoned the body, on the marvellous supposition that if a man at large, with unfettered arm and leg, free to look up work, and able to do it if he find it, cannot pay that debt, he will be able to do it, if you catch him, fetter him, and shut him up where there is no work to be found, and no power to do it if work could be found. It was the pitting of one impossibility against another, and waiting to see which would come off more than conqueror. Now, debt cometh of poverty, and poverty cometh often of causes over which a man may have no possible control. It may be his heritage—it may be, and more often is, his misfortune, and not his fault. Many and many a man has become poor, dropping from respectable and comfortable competence into the vicinage of want, because of the fault, the chicanery, the misdoings, the carelessness, the thievery, or the rascality of others. A man deposits his small means in a bank vault. The modern facilities of burglary render the entrance therein a not difficult operation of boring, or of blowing, or of both, and the resultant abstraction is the delivery of the party spoken of, over to the bondage of want, mitigated but little, even by the customary compromise with the villany. A new recruit, perhaps many new recruits, are thus mustered into the uncounted armies of the necessitous, and not seldom these new recruits, helpless from age or a thousand preventive surroundings, have neither chance nor hope of ever serving their time, or being mustered out. The poverty which cleaves to them, like the shirt of Nessus, poisoning the soul, and wearing out the living spirit, acts upon the body too, and not seldom brings it to a grave of unwelcome earliness.

But there is another class of the poor, and by far the most numerous and pitiable, made poor by causes more remote, without culture, and so failing to recognize or to appreciate the few means within even their grasp. These exemplify the scriptural saying, that "the destruction of the poor is their poverty." The physical causes, from which their misery

springs, and which, did they possess any moral power, so that spirit should act upon body, they might measurably control,—these physical causes becoming the dominant power, fatally impair the moral and intellectual capacities, and embrate the whole character. Self-respect is then lost, ambition is paralyzed, and losing all power of action or of effort, they fail to be affected by any rational or moral influence, and measuring themselves by themselves, and by others like themselves,—hope dead, aspiration breathless and unprompting,—they listlessly tramp the road of life under the crushing weight of a perpetual humiliation. They forbear, out of a subservient regard for what are called the respectable classes, to respect themselves, or to expect to be, or to become respected, and so tacitly consent to be recognized, in type and talk, as the lower classes; and the respectable and respected world also, so recognizing them, they are kept unrespected, they themselves being the most powerful auxiliaries of their non-respecting antagonists. All this helps them to be guided by that specially disparaging doctrine set forth in the English Church catechism, that they should reverence their betters, and do their duty in that state of life wherein it has pleased God to call them. Their deepest thought is for the present pressure, and intense thought about physical needs deadens hope and starves imagination, kills love and all affection, all pride of home or for home, nay, emasculates home of all its quickening powers, so that it can generate no good, and becomes a mere apology for shelter against storm or cold,—its single room a jumbling of kitchen, parlor, bedroom, nursery, clothes-yard, all into one, their very intimacy and proximity, and lack of room breeding petty interferences and fits of temper, and these leading, perhaps, to worse faults, if not to positive crime. The hapless father, seeking rest and comfort after toil, and finding neither, takes to the loafing spots of the streets, and to the worse dens of riot and of rum, and the high road of ruin is opened before him, and unconsciously, almost, he drives along upon it with increasing speed, paying its impoverishing tolls, and rushing to its certain and horrible terminus.

Some of them live in a perpetual state of unsatisfiable desire, longing for better things, inasmuch as the very work they do, is, not seldom, for those whose means yield them them the posses-

sion of not merely the daily comforts, but the refinements and elegancies of life. Like Tantalus perishing of thirst in the midst of deep waters, they live in the midst of blessings that can never bless them. Untaught and undeveloped as they are, their short-sighted reasoning only leads them to believe that outward prosperity is the measure of human bliss, not regarding the thought while poverty is the poison of the poor, mere wealth is the deadlier poison of the rich.

In verification of what has been herein above mentioned, we invite attention to the

HOMES OF LOW-PAID LABORERS IN THE CITY OF BOSTON.

The homes and home-surroundings of laborers are a pretty accurate index of the "industrial, social, educational and sanitary," and, we may add, moral condition, of the laborers themselves. Impressed with this idea, the Bureau made these objects of inquiry in the circulars sent out, and recommend that the subject be further and more thoroughly investigated. Such investigation will reveal a state of things at which the people of Massachusetts will gaze with amazement, disgust, and anger, and demand a bettering of the wrong.

From the pressure of duties upon us, we spent but three days in visiting certain localities in Boston, where the lower class of the city laborers are compelled to live—compelled, and under excessive rentage compared with the accommodations. Being too poor to be economical, and, therefore, obliged to buy in small quantities, they pay the highest prices for what they consume, as, for instance, at least double prices for wood and coal, taking the rates which they pay for the bundle and the basket, and computing from these the cost of the cord and the ton. So it is with regard to everything else, there being neither money to buy with, nor place for storage of articles bought in larger bulk. As a general rule it may be said that the smaller the quantities purchased, the larger is the price paid, and the larger the number of middlemen to whom a profit must be paid.

We proceed to give the results of our visits made on the 16th, 21st and 23d days of December 1869. To facilitate the objects of our visit, and to carry authority in our mission, we applied to Colonel Kurtz, chief of the city police, who detailed

officer John C. Cluer, whose special duties had rendered him familiar with the places we desired to examine, and that officer accompanied us and afforded us great assistance.

Our first examination was of the premises in rear of No. 140, Merrimac Street, where, up a narrow passage-way, and occupying a single room, we found a widow of 75 years of age, her daughter, of 40 years and a grandchild of twelve years. Their rent, \$1.25 per week (\$65 yearly), was paid weekly. The room, 12 feet square, and 9 feet high, contained a bedstead with bed, an old lounge, a cooking-stove and three chairs, some refuse wood in empty lime barrels, and a little coal in a box bought at thirteen cents a peck. The walls were damp and discolored from leakage; a sink with water-pipe was in one corner. There were two windows in the room, one covered up with old bagging to keep cold from the bed which stood right under it; the other, near the door, looked into a yard of 18 by 12 feet, and gave light to work upon a quilting frame, one end of which rested upon a trunk, and the other upon an inverted wash tub. Her work looked neatly done, and the room as clean as could be expected. Meat, (end and shin bits,) they bought occasionally. The daughter was a washerwoman, and all their earnings were from the quilting frame and the wash tub. In the yard, directly opposite the only door, and about four feet therefrom, was a privy about three feet square, for the accommodation of five families living on the premises. It was locked, and on opening it and looking in, the sight was appalling, and the stench sickening. A holeless seat revealed a fetid abyss of stercoraceous putrescence. We thanked the winter solstice, and pitying those whose endurance would be tasked in—

“Summer’s hotter rays,”

pursued our inquiries.

On ascending to the second story by a rickety flight of stairs on the outside, against the frailty of which we were cautioned, we found two families, one in a rear room, consisting of seven persons, a man, wife, and five boarders (colored). The man is a seaman, who had been disabled for work eighteen months, and was now earning nothing. The wife was washing, and does all her work, drying, and ironing in the same room, that being both living room and kitchen.

This room was 16 × 16 feet, and 8 feet high, and contained

a cooking stove, two old tables—one for eating and one for ironing and general work, and three chairs of divers patterns. A line from corner to corner held the ironed clothes. The bed-room of Mr. and Mrs. — opened from this room and was 9×6 feet, and 8 feet high,—occupied by a bedstead, their clothing hanging round the walls. On reaching the attic, up narrow and steep stairs, we found two rooms, less than 6 feet at the highest part, sloping to 3 feet at the sides; in one of them were two beds, for the accommodation of three persons, and in the other one bed for two persons. The walls showed that the rain and storms had free entrance,—house full of leaks and entirely out of repair and in tumble-down condition. Mrs. — apologized for the want of thorough cleanliness, but considering the state of the house, it was wonderful that she kept it so clean. The rent was \$2 a week, payable weekly, in advance.

The single front room of the same size as the rear, and serving for living, eating, working and sleeping, was occupied by a man (tailor,) his wife and child. They were English, and the man was engaged at his employment in the room. Indications of exceeding deprivation were all about, yet the room was cleanly, and an effort at attaining some little comfort was manifest. The furniture was scant and inadequate.

In the rear of this house, up the same passage-way, was another house having four rooms, renting each at \$1 per week—\$52 per annum; living-rooms, 8×14 feet, with 6 feet post, with a chimney projection of 5×2 feet. Second story was an attic, less than 6 feet at the centre, and sloping to the eaves; house wholly out of repair, nasty and damp, with 2 feet of water in the cellar, at high tide. Two families had just moved out, one of them leaving its furniture stored in the attic. *The house is now to let.* The lessee's name of these houses is James M. Williams, who occupies a barber's shop on the street front; the owners are the Brannan heirs. Nowhere about these premises did we see any compliance with the requisition of the Tenement House Law of 1868.

We next visited a locality known as "Fortune's Alley," leading from No. 136 Merrimac Street to South Margin Street. This alley contains a row of dilapidated wooden shells, from a story and a half to two stories high. First called upon the

family of Mrs. —, consisting of six persons occupying three rooms; a living-room 12×11 feet, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet post; a room 6×5 , and $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet post; opening from the living-room was the sleeping-room of the mother and daughter, their clothing being hung round the walls. It had one window opening upon a space 2 feet wide. The living-room had but one window, and herein all the work was done, the room appearing as tidy as could be expected. Washing was the employment of mother and daughter, the latter being seventeen years old. Their rent was \$91 per annum, paid weekly at \$1.75 in advance. Their fuel was kept in an attic reached by a perilous flight of steps. In this attic slept the *boys* on a wretched bed. Water was obtained from a sink in the entry. No gas in any places yet visited.

In the same alley live Mr. and Mrs. Mc—, having one lodger. They have three rooms, the living-room being in the basement alongside of four privies, directly over which is one of the sleeping-rooms, having a window looking into the entrance alley; living-room, 14×7 feet, with 7 feet post, having two windows, the rear one of which could not be kept open at any season on account of the offensive odor from the privies. Mr. Mc— is a laborer, picking up jobs where and when he can get them. Mrs. Mc— goes out washing three days of the week, rising at five o'clock in the morning to get the family breakfast, and returning home at one o'clock to get their dinner. In the afternoon and on unemployed days, she looked after her household. Water is obtained from a hydrant, just within a square hole looking into a damp and flooded cellar. The furniture consisted of a stove, an old lounge, four chairs, no two of a pattern, a table, and a print or two on the walls.

In same building Mrs. E. L— occupies three rooms, accessible by outside steps; pays \$2.50 a week. Has four in the family, and one lodger who boards herself, and whose daughter, when out of work, lives with her mother. Keeps fuel in the wet cellar. Washes and irons; clothes were drying in the room. Living-room, 12×8 feet, and 7 feet high; water in alley. Leaser of these tenements, Mr. Robinson, butcher, corner of Lowell and Causeway Streets. Furniture scant and poor.

The tenement house in the rear of No. 120 Merrimac Street, owned by James Farley, No. 143 Lowell Street, has

four families in the building,—twenty persons in eleven rooms ; total rent, \$9 per week, or \$468 per annum.

Basement occupied by P—— H—— and wife ; he nearly blind and unable to work. She washes and irons ; living-room 9×8 feet, and 7 feet high ; bed-room on same floor, 9×6 and 7 feet high ; rent \$1.25 per week ; two windows in the rear kept shut on account of odor of privy ; space 4 feet on one side of house, and 2 feet on other. Living-room contained stove, table, old lounge, three chairs, a few prints on wall, and looking-glass ; water had at sink in room.

W—— W——, wife and six children occupied next tenement ;—oldest sixteen years, and just gone to service ; youngest eighteen months. Mr. W., laborer at \$1.76 per day ; have three rooms, at \$2.50 per week ; living-room, 10×12 feet, and 8 feet high, containing three chairs, a table, an old bureau, stove, and six prints on the walls. Sleeping-rooms opened from this room,—just large enough for beds. Mr. and Mrs. W. and youngest child sleep in one, and the other children in the other,—one window looking into a space into which the privy opened. Mrs. W. washed and ironed, and cleaned houses. Had worked for good families on Beacon Street. While her husband was away in the 9th Mass. Regiment, three years, all the aid she had was State aid, and often was without other relief or means for six months. Mr. W. now works in the furniture business, at \$12 per week. Paid a year ago \$70 for sickness ; paid for painting their own living-room. Mrs. W., her children and rooms were a marvel of neatness. A privy in the yard, and entirely too near the building, was clean, though used by several families.

Called next at rooms of Mr. C—— in the same alley, but in a different and poorer building ; family all absent but a lad. Furniture scant, and of the poorest description. Three rooms were used by the family of seven persons, at a rent of \$5 a month ; one bed-room was 7×7 feet, and the other 10×7 feet, and each 7 feet post. Two persons sleep in the smaller room, and five in the larger ; rooms very dark, leaky and damp. A room below, formerly occupied as a kitchen, was abandoned on account of being flooded to the depth of a foot at every high tide. The father had worked for the same employer in the

furniture business for twenty-two years, and is now receiving \$12 a week.

Friend Street Court, from 175 Friend to 82 Canal Street, Ward 4, Boston, was next visited.

This court consists of two blocks of wooden houses, with brick ends and a brick middle partition, four stories high, fronting each other, the passage-way being 140×14 feet. A low wooden building stands in the middle of the court, 19×7 feet, and 9 feet high to peak, containing eight privies, with one end having space for ash-barrels, and the other for swill and house garbage. Two low iron hydrants in the yard supply water for all the tenants, and two covered drains, also in the yard, carry away the slops and waste water of all the tenements.

Each block contains 32 rooms, with *four* entries 5 feet wide, each entry having two rooms on a floor; there are four stories, and the entries are wholly without light, excepting that the upper floor of the entry receives light from a scuttle-way leading to the roof by very bad, steep and short steps. When this scuttle is closed, the entry-ways are wholly dark. The sun never strikes into any rooms below the uppermost. All clothing, when washed, is dried upon the roof, or by being hung from lines drawn from window to window of the same room. The whole building, with its damp and dark cellars, is unseemly and dirty every way, offensive to the sight, and disgusting to the smell.

It was erected in 1857 by Stone and Johnson, for the Hon. Samuel Hooper, M. C., and sold in 1867, to Cyrus Wakefield, Esq., of Wakefield, Mass. The property is leased to Mr. John Collins, at the rate of \$360 a month, or \$4,320 per annum. Its assessed value is \$30,000, showing a rental at about $14\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Mr. Collins' statement of rents was as follows:—

16 rooms at \$1.00 (in advance,) . . .	\$16 00
16 " at \$1.25 " . . .	20 00
32 " at \$1.50 " . . .	48 00
Total per week, . . .	<hr/> \$84 00

Equal to \$4,368 per annum, leaving him a profit of but \$48. We, however, found no tenants who gave as his rent

less than \$1.50 per week, which would produce an annual rent of \$4,992, and a profit to the sub-letting agent of \$672, if occupied all the time. His own store and room is on the lower floor on Friend Street, and there is another store on the same end of the other building. *The Tenement Building Law, chap. 281, Acts of 1868, is, in every respect, ignored and violated.* See Letters, page 182.

At our visit we found eight rooms vacant, and 54 families occupying 56 rooms. These families comprised whites, English, and Irish—mostly the latter, blacks, mulattoes, and Indians, men, women and children. From the testimony of the lessee and others, there had been as many as 450 occupants at one time, an average of seven persons to a room, each room being 17 × 15 feet, and 7 feet high, or, say 226 cubic feet to each person. The rooms are smoky, damp, unpainted, and mostly unwhitewashed, and are sitting-room, kitchen, wood-room and living-room, all united in one, with no solar ray ever entering them, excepting at the uppermost floor. A few plants in some of the rooms had died, and no wonder. No room and no entry was ventilated. There was no transom window over any door, and not a window in the house could be let down from the top for air, and no ventilation in any entry. There is no fire-escape of any sort, anywhere about the building, and no bannisters to many of the stairs,—so that in case of fire, it would not be possible for the tenants to escape without loss of life. The cellars were very damp, and only lighted by what light could get into them through the interstices between the wooden bars nailed on in the place of windows. There was but one solitary sink in any room, and that was in a room occupied by a colored woman, (the best furnished room of the tenement,) and this she had put up at her own expense. In this room the Young Men's Christian Association have held meetings for prayer and religious instruction.

First room examined was occupied by an English family on the first floor, consisting of a man and his wife. He was a laborer on \$1.25 a day, when he could get work; had been out of work a great deal on account of sickness; wife takes in washing. The furniture was one bed, two old tables, four old chairs out of repair, stove, a few cooking utensils, and tubs; fuel kept in one corner of the room; walls in bad repair, dirty,

smoky and damp, and chimney out of order ; a small piece of old carpet on the floor. The personal cleanliness of the occupants was very fair.

Next family was on fourth story, consisting of a black man and white wife. He a laborer, earning, when at work, as a mason's tender, \$2 a day ; had no work for three weeks, and loses a great deal of time. She washes when she can get it. Furniture, a bed, three chairs, a stove, table, one picture, and hardly any bedding ; room very damp from leakage, but with good light, being an upper room. Cleanliness of room and person indifferent, and looks betraying hopelessness of relief.

Next room visited was occupied by a man and wife, both Irish. Business, a baker, at \$5 a week and board ; man at home only on Sundays, although working but a short distance from his room, employer requiring him to sleep where he works. Furniture consisted of three chairs, a bed, no table and no stove ; some blocks of wood covered with old cloth were between the windows, and served to hold a few dishes ; a small pile of coke was burning in the fireplace, and the room was damp, dark, dreary, cold, smoky and smothering ; the woman was in the last degree of forlorn despair ; her personal cleanliness all that could be expected ; came from Ireland.

The next room visited was occupied by an old colored couple ; the man a former resident of Salem, whence he had sailed as cook, or steward for many of the older merchants of that city, whose names he gave, and the names of their ships and the several voyages. He also, when under question to test his story, gave the names of individual members of Salem families, and of Salem local events of years past, well known to one of the Bureau, who resides in that city. He more recently had worked at stove cleaning in public buildings in Boston, till steam-heating was introduced. There were two beds in the room, table, chairs, stove, some pictures on the wall, a carpet of varied style, make, and colors on the floor ; everything in the room and about their persons was scrupulously neat and clean. Wholly out of work, except an occasional job.

Leaving this room and descending one flight, we entered a room totally destitute of furniture, no fire, cold, damp and dreary, into which a woman had moved the night before, and her we saw asleep on an old mattress, with an old valise con-

taining refuse clothing by her side; on the floor, near the fireplace, where had been a recent fire, some old bones and refuse. The room had been occupied a few nights before for a ball to raise a little money for an unfortunate man thrown out of work. A black man living opposite had loaned his room for a fair for the sale of some articles. (See Art. Raffling, in "Seven Crimes of London.")

The next room visited was occupied by an Indian family, a man, wife, and one child. The woman was engaged in making bead-work, which her husband sold. The whole place was equally naked of decent furniture, unclean, and marking equal destitution. Civilization has brought to them no improvement on the poverty and suffering of their aboriginal condition.

Many of the rooms in these buildings were locked on the inside, and a desire was apparent that the condition of the dwellers should not be unmasked and exposed.

The next tenement house visited is in a place known by the name of Stone's Alley, leading from No. 24 and 26 Stillman Street—a sort of cul-de-sac. This alley is really a passage, five feet wide and about eighty feet long, opening into an open space 16×8 , in the middle of which space was a privy of unmitigated nastiness, and reeking with suffocating stench. The building is of two and a half stories, and contains twelve rooms; is very much out of order, leaky as a sieve, cold, dismal and damp; the cellar-way full of stagnant water, some three feet deep, from which arose an aroma of congregated stinks sufficient to render the "eighty-one several and distinct smells of Cologne" sweet as the western zephyrs, that come laden with the balmy and surfeiting odors from over the rose-beds of Persia. "If so in the green tree, what would it be in the dry," which paraphrastically may be expressed, "If so in December, what would it be in July?" The water for all the tenants is obtained from a hydrant in the yard, and there were no waste-places for house slops or garbage. This property is owned by P. A. Stone.

First family visited was that of M—— W——, a longshoreman. It consisted of three persons, in a room 14×12 , and 7 feet post, up one flight; the fuel is kept under the stairs. Furniture, one bed, three chairs, a stool, stove, clock, but no table. Three windows, walls damp, and dark with smoke; no ventilation; plastering broken, patched, and discolored—

chimney smoked badly, the fireplace being closed with a wooden fireboard. The cleanliness of the occupants was quite fair. They paid \$1.50 for weekly rent, in advance.

The next family was that of P—— K——, a laborer in a foundry at \$9 per week, but now out of work, living in the attic, (at \$1.25 per week,) which is divided into a living and a bed room. The former is 12×9 feet, and 7 feet post, the latter $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, and 7 feet post. The family consisted of parents and four children, the oldest of eight years, and the youngest of six months. Two of them attended school, and knew the alphabet. At the time of our visit, the little girl of eight years, in the absence of the mother, was doing the washing in an old butter firkin, besides taking care of the household. She was suffering from a cold, having the week before denuded herself to her under garment, that she might wash her other clothes, having no spare set, and these she had to hang on top of the house in her more than half-naked condition. The furniture consisted of two old tables, six old chairs, an old stove—fuel in a cupboard and on the floor. Bed-room contained a bed, nearly filling it, in which the whole family slept. Ceiling of the rooms had settled down; plastering broken and black with smoke, and there was no appearance of paint or whitewash. More cleanliness than could be expected.

The lower room was vacant, two families of twelve or thirteen persons having just moved out. The stairways were very dangerous, and so steep that we had to go up and down sideways.

Next we entered the room occupied by H—— Mc——, wife and three boys, at a rent of \$1.25 a week. Here the plastering was broken down, the walls dark and damp, and no furniture whatever in the room, except a mattress and some trunks piled in a corner. The windows had been taken out to expel the tenants, the man being out of work. The woman had been sheltered by a friend in Cambridge, the father and three boys had slept on the floor during the stormy night of the 18th, and those of the 19th and 20th of December, without fire, or covering, except their own clothing. The attic of this tenement, lighted by a scuttle, through which rain and snow found no difficulty in entering, was occupied by an old lady at a rent of seventy-five

cents per week. A few scant articles of furniture, a stove and its fuel, and a bed, were all her concomitants.

In another room on the lower floor, immediately over a cellar full of stenchy water, were a man and wife. As yet, the only furniture they had was a bed in the corner, and a little fire of wood in the fire-place. The woman asked us to look into the cellar, which we inspected by means of a lighted roll of newspaper, but were soon driven out by the stench and reeking damp and dirt. In this whole yard are thirteen families, containing thirty-six persons occupying twelve rooms.

We next passed into Stone's Yard, on Cross Street, between Nos. 100 and 102 Hanover Street. A three-foot passage-way led into the yard, thirty-two feet long by twelve wide, wherein lived fourteen families. There was one privy, too horrible to be described, for the whole tenantry. Some small places partitioned off in the yard, and intended for fuel, were covered with human excrement. The buildings were three stories high, wretched tumble-downs, and not fit for cattle. The specimen room we visited was 14×14 feet, and 7 feet post, occupied by four persons, one in bed and sick. The floor was perforated by the gnawings of rats of the hugest proportions, whose mordacious work had been patched up by inpourings of anthracite ashes. An old door had been secured to the sills by a pair of very ancient hinges, for which, and for service in putting them on, the landlord had charged the tenant seventy-five cents. This room yielded a rentage of \$1.75 a week, in advance.

Going, then, up a dark, winding and rickety stairway, we came to a room occupied by a Mrs. R. (Irish.) She stood at a tub, washing. In the room was a bedstead, a table, three chairs and a stove. Everything denoted the lowest stage of poverty. The officer attending us said that he once found here a family starving. Mrs. R. appeared cleanly and industrious, but thoroughly disheartened. *In less than a week from our visit she was stabbed and killed, in a quarrel with a neighbor about the loan of five cents!*

The next room, 14×14 , and 7 feet post, contained five adults, all present, a man, wife, very old, and three daughters. The furniture consisted of two beds, an old lounge, a stove and a few chairs. The daughters were mending old dresses. From replies to one or two questions, we inferred their mode of life.

The room was fairly decent, though crowded, and the air far from agreeable.*

We next visited "Young's Court," rear of 124 North Street, owned by John C. Gilbert, and leased by Charles Lynch, shoemaker. His receipts from the tenants were \$1,000 a year, of which he paid \$800 to the owner. There are four wooden houses, covering 1,700 feet of land, the whole valued at \$2,600. There is also a brick building, fronting on North Street, No. 124, where Mr. Lynch has his shop. This building covers 1,500 feet of land, the whole valued at \$8,000. In this building there are twelve rooms, with ten families and seventeen persons. Among them two blind men with their wives. The wooden buildings up the court, contain fifteen rooms, ten only occupied, and by thirty-six persons, in one of which we found two little half-clad children nibbling crusts of bread. These buildings are in a worse condition of dilapidation than any we examined: the door-steps gone at one door, the stairways rotten and dangerous, many of the windows destitute of glass, and the whole materially fit for nothing but to pull down and convert into kindlings.

Called on the family of Mr. J. H——, an Irishman, at that time engaged in repairing some tools, being out of work for some weeks. He was thirty-nine years old, with a sick wife and four children. He is a currier by trade, and had worked twenty-four years, partly in Ireland, and partly here. Worked last in South Malden, sixty hours per week, at an average pay, sometimes in wages and sometimes in piece-work, of \$14 per week, *paid at the convenience of the employer, a portion being always kept back*. Loses a quarter part of the year from lack of work. Breakfasted at quarter past five o'clock in the morning, started then for Malden, commencing work at seven o'clock; worked till six to seven, P. M., with a half hour for dinner, which he carried from home in a tin pail, as most laborers do, being a member of the large body usually designated as the "Tin-pail Brigade." Got home, when closing work at six, by half past seven o'clock for supper. Walked to and from Malden, rather than live there (he could not afford to ride,) because of the uncertainty of work. By living in town, chance work, when out of steady work, is more readily

* See some account of the North End Mission in Appendix.

obtained. This is quite customary with workmen. Pays \$2 a week for three rooms, the largest 14 × 12 feet and seven feet post, smallest 7 × 6 feet and 6 feet post. Can read and write. House very leaky, and fit for no human being to inhabit, or for any other animal. Room lighted by two windows, one of six panes and one of twelve, all small glass; room dark, dreary and desolate. Yet the tenants seemed as cleanly as we could expect, and the father (the wife sick in bed,) and children on the pleasantest footing. Furniture scanty; fuel kept in a closet; bought coal by the peck at twelve cents, which cannot be far from eighteen dollars a ton; coke at thirteen cents, or about five dollars a chaldron. Eldest child fourteen years old, and youngest seven years, and do not attend school.

Passing by very many other and similar tenements, all as bad as those described, we visited "Institute Avenue," leading from North Margin to Endicott Street, with tenement houses on each side, covering 8,130 feet of land, of a total valuation of \$17,000, and yielding a rental of \$6,550; equal to 38½ per cent. Premises owned by Dr. Timothy Smith. The avenue is 200 feet long by 10 wide, and the buildings are four stories high. There are eleven entrances, opening mostly to entry ways, but some directly to rooms. Passing through a narrow way of two feet wide, we came upon six privies in the rear of one of the buildings, lying along a common way, and without doors—and exposed to transient custom of tenants or outsiders. Everything was filthy and fetid, feculent and foul. From the narrowness of the loft passage between the buildings, no sunlight could ever reach the rooms excepting those in the upper story. There are 72 tenements occupied by about 350 persons. All the water used was taken from one hydrant in the passage. There were slop-sinks on each floor. Walls of rooms had not received suitable cleansing by whitewash or paint.

This closed the researches of the day, and we left to make records of our observations.

"BARRACKS," LINCOLN STREET.

On Thursday, December 23d, we made another tour, first taking the buildings on Lincoln Street, near the United States Hotel, known as the "Barracks," or the "Crystal Palace," and owned by John S. Farlow, Esq., of Boston, and leased by

M. Collins, who occupies rooms on the lower western floor, corner of Lincoln and Tufts Streets.

This building is an L-shaped edifice of four stories, built of brick, and having four corridors in front, and four on the widest part of the rear, each corridor boarded up in the middle to prevent its being made a thoroughfare. All the tenements opened upon these corridors, and at each end of each corridor are a sink and faucet for water. The privies are in the rear of the narrow part of the building, being eight in number; one without flooring appeared to be used to receive garbage-waste. They were in a state of unutterable nastiness, the fetid mixture of filth squirting up between the boards of the walk-way at every step we took. The lessee, Mr. Collins, who accompanied us, apologized for this foulness by saying that he had made application to the city authorities, and hoped that an early scavenging would cause a more desirable condition of cleanliness. On calling at the City Hall, (department of health,) we found that between February 26th and October 5th, 1869, eleven loads had been removed, and on December 20th, application had been made for the removal of two more. The women of the house told us that they and their children made no use of these places.

We were not successful in obtaining the assessed value of these "Barracks," and the land whereon they stand, as the property is assessed with other adjoining property, all belonging to the same owner.

In the rear of the L part, which contains 16 tenements of two rooms each (32 rooms), is a distillery two stories high, and about ten feet from the rear corridors, thus effectually darkening all the lower rooms. The roof of this distillery was covered with an indescribable variety of rubbish. The basement of the L contains four rooms; one of them, the living-room, fronting on Lincoln Street, being 15×11 feet, with 7 feet post, was used as kitchen and living-room combined; the rear rooms, three in number, contained five or six beds, and being more than the family could use, suggested an impure state of morals. The rent of these rooms was \$4 per week. Above stairs, in this same part, the tenements had but two rooms each, lighted (?) by a single window not lowering at the top for ventilation. The bed-rooms were entirely dark, yet

having a wooden ventilator (though insufficient) leading to the top of the building. One family was found, that of a man of French parentage, born in Maine, with wife and three small children, that seemed to be utterly destitute. There was neither fire, fuel nor food, and the helplessness of the sick father, lying on an old mattress on the floor, suggested the deepest hopelessness. Here, as everywhere we went, the faces of the unemployed men, the faces of the women toiling at wash-tub and iron board, were painfully expressive of hopeless despair.

Calling in on the family of a Scotch laborer, we found the wife and four children, the man being out in pursuit of work. [And by the way we may here add that our inquiries will authorize us to say that three out of every five laboring men were out of employ.] The youngest of these children was twelve months of age. The father works six months of the year in getting house-sand in a coasting vessel, earning an average of \$8 a week, and for the rest of the year he picks up what jobs he can find. The wife goes out scrubbing, leaving the children at home. The rent is payable in advance, at \$2 per week. The furniture was very scanty, and the family struggling hard, and with poor success for a mere living. And "just to live" is all they attain. In fact, the people in all the places we visited barely live. Of the ordinary comforts of life, of its enjoyments, its reasonable recreations, they are utterly destitute; no refining influence seems to purify them, and it excites no wonder when one thinks of their surroundings, that whenever vice tempts them, though with never so paltry a bait, that when the feeblest hope of obtaining something better, if only in the seeming, presents itself to their eyes wearied with despair, they yield to the enticement, and not seldom are ever after lost to virtue. To return. The lessee of this block pays, as he told us, \$2,400 a year to Mr. Farlow, collecting about \$2,800. He keeps no books, and appears to have no other means of livelihood.

Our next visit was to the Model Tenement House near Kneeland Street, between Washington Street and Harrison Avenue, and on Kneeland Place. The block was erected by funds appropriated therefor by the late Hon. Abbott Lawrence. It is five stories high, and of brick, covering 6,169 feet of land, valued at \$15,000, the building at \$25,000, a total of \$40,000,

yielding \$4,576 in rents, being $8\frac{7}{10}$ per cent. on the valuation. The central part of the building is occupied by a large common hall, with iron stairways, from which doors communicate with the private entry to each tenement. This consists of a sitting-room, 15×15 feet, and 10 feet post, from which you enter a kitchen, (8×7 feet, with 10 feet post, quite too small,) two bed-rooms, one 10×10 feet, and same post, and the other somewhat smaller. Gas and water supplied to each story, with water-closet for each tenant in his own premises. Sink for waste water, and shootway leading to the cellar, down which to throw ashes and dry waste. In the cellar are twenty compartments for coal and wood, one for each tenement. The rents vary with the situation of the rooms, the second story commanding the highest price. There are eight rooms at \$4.50 per week; there are four rooms at \$4.75 per week; there are four rooms at \$4.25 per week; there are four rooms at \$4.00 per week.

Everything about the premises was scrupulously clean and pleasant. The whole area of ground yet to be covered, should other buildings be erected for the same purpose, is 12,000 feet, valued at \$36,000. No definite plan is, however, yet adopted. The lowest rent is at the rate of \$208 per annum, the highest \$247; so that it is manifest that no ordinary laboring family can afford them on the mere earnings of a father at \$1.50 per day. "Of the father" we say, for such is the importance of the mother to other duties of the household, duties clearly indicated by the whole family relation, and such the just and true claims and rights of the children, that unto the father; to whom the family appropriately looks for support, there ought, and under a proper organization of society, there would accrue such recompense of his daily toil, as would secure the family comfort from his earnings alone.

But how is it possible to erect suitable houses under the present high price of land, within the area of the fast-growing metropolis? And if that be impossible, and the encroachments of business drive people far away from business centres, then the mechanic, following the lead of the more favored, must find his home outside also, and to do this, there is necessity for less working time. For by eagerly embracing the opportunity of moving his household within a radius of ten or

twenty miles of the city, he brings thereby not only health and comfort and consequent culture to all, but, by vacating his city tenement, he renders it possible for the lower paid and less cultivated worker, to succeed to what would be to him, till he takes another step onward and upward, a home of marvelous convenience and attraction.

Continuing the work of the day, we next visited a locality far up town, on what was once called "Boston Neck." The spot is known as "Ottawa Place," and is truthfully described in an article in the "Boston Journal," from which we make some extracts. The court leads from Washington Street, near Waltham Street, and for many years, being then a narrow passage-way, known as Sand's Yard, was occupied by dilapidated and filthy tenements, used by a population that caused much trouble to the police, and rendered it the plague spot of the neighborhood. It was subsequently purchased by Dr. O. S. Sanders, who removed all the old buildings, cleansed the territory, and remodelled and thoroughly repaired all that were of any value.

The entire area is 8,109 square feet, with a passage 159×13 feet, covered with plank, and entirely unobstructed and clear. There are seven houses, containing thirty tenements, nearly all now (February) occupied, with an average of three persons to a family. Each tenement will average three rooms, the largest 14×12 feet, with 8 feet post; the smallest 9×9 feet, and same post. Each tenement is supplied with closets, water, water-closets and drainage, emptying into the city sewers, and satisfactory ventilation. The facilities for drying clothes are a separate space, fenced off for each family, on the roofs, which are covered with tar and gravel, and planked walk-ways. The rent is \$4 per week. Twenty-six of the families are of colored persons, many of whom were slaves in and about Petersburg, Va., before the emancipation proclamation. As a class, they are temperate, religious, civil, cleanly and industrious, and present a strong contrast to what we had seen elsewhere and to what existed there before. One of the apartments is occupied as a chapel, in which religious services are held on Sundays, and on Tuesday and Friday evenings. In another room an evening school is kept on Monday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings.

The property cost \$60,000; and including two stores on Washington Street, is underlet for \$5,800 per annum. We enquired of some colored men whom we saw there (they were out of work,) whether the place was orderly and still, and the reply was, "Yes, excepting when we come together to sing praises to the Lord, and to Jesus Christ, his Son, who came to do us good and to save us, and then we feel so thankful, that we sing the tunes pretty loud, and the 'Glory to God' comes out very full and strong!" We wish that just such noises might fill the whole earth!

In chapter 281, Acts of 1868, certain provisions are made for the "Regulation of Tenement and Lodging Houses in the city of Boston," of which these are the principal, viz:—

1. Ventilation by transom windows over the doors of the several rooms.
2. Ventilation of the halls or entries.
3. Balusters to stairways.
4. Fire escapes.
5. Water-closets or privies to be connected with city sewers, or street gutters.
6. Cess-pools only when unavoidable.
7. Cellars not to be occupied as sleeping-places, except under permit.
8. Garbage boxes, and cleansing thereof.
9. Whitewash twice a year.
10. Owner's and agent's names to be posted on wall or door in entry.
11. Free access for examination by Board of Health.
12. Vacating of buildings infected, or out of repair.
13. New tenements, distance between, and height of rooms; size of windows; supply of water; receptacles for ashes, waste, &c.
14. Board of Health, supervisory and complainant.

Our own observation, when we visited the tenement-houses herein spoken of, did not satisfy us that these provisions were complied with, and that in most instances, they were wholly neglected. On the 21st of February we addressed the following note to the Board of Health of Boston:—

OFFICE OF BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF LABOR, STATE HOUSE, }
BOSTON, February 21, 1870.

To the Board of Health of the City of Boston.

GENTLEMEN:—Is the Act of 1868, chap. 281, relating to the “Regulation of Tenement Houses, &c., in the city of Boston,” usually enforced? In reporting, as the Bureau is required to do, to the legislature, upon the “sanitary condition of the laboring classes,” we desire to draw attention to this point in our pages on Tenement Houses.

Yours respectfully,

H. K. OLIVER, *Chief of Bureau.*

To this note we received the following reply:—

OFFICE OF SUPERINTENDENT OF HEALTH, CITY HALL, }
BOSTON, February 25, 1870.

To H. K. OLIVER, Esquire.

SIR:—Yours of 21st inst. was duly received and contents noted; in reply would say that the attention of builders has been specially called to the tenement building law by sending a copy of the same to each and all. Yet there is not the regard paid to the law we should wish, but much improvement has taken place in the way of cleanliness, and it is to be hoped that during the present year, many important changes will be made. We rely principally upon the Police for information, and such is very limited, yet we live in the hope that a united effort of the two Departments, during the year 1870, will accomplish more than has been done during the whole time since the passage of the Act. In the early spring, steps will be taken to cause the owners of such buildings to conform to certain requirements of the building Act.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL B. CURTIS, *Assistant-Superintendent.*

Closing this subject-matter, for the present, here, the partial researches we have had time to make impel us to the conclusion, that low-paid laborers are not earning sufficient wages to justify their living in tenement houses like the Lawrence and others similar thereunto; and, as there are no intermediate houses between these and the lowest class of houses herein described, the laborers of this class are practically compelled to crowd into the miserable refuges in which they now congregate. In fact, so far as we have been able to ascertain, there are no places within the settled portions of the city of Boston, where the low-paid toiler can find a home of decency and comfort. We give

this statement with the qualification, "so far as we have been able to ascertain;" and shall be but too happy to correct this statement, whenever we shall know, either from further examination, or on authentic information, that it is not true. It ought to be absolutely untrue.

Ruskin, in his "Laws of Work," says that "the most wretched houses of the poor, in London, often pay ten or fifteen per cent. to the landlord;" and he adds, "I have known an instance of sanitary legislation being hindered, to the loss of many hundreds of lives, in order that the rents of a nobleman, derived from the necessities of the poor, might not be diminished." He further says: "I myself once bought, in the worst part of London, one freehold and one leasehold property, consisting of houses inhabited by the lowest poor, in order to try what change in their comfort and habits I could effect by taking only a just rent. The houses of the leasehold pay me five per cent., and the families that used to have but one room, now have two, and are more orderly and hopeful besides, and there is a surplus still in the rents they pay, after I have taken my five per cent., with which, if all goes well, they will eventually be able to buy of me twelve years of the lease. The freehold pays three per cent., with similar results to the comfort of the tenant. Now, there is such a thing as justice and injustice in rentage." Mr. Ruskin appears to have looked at the matter through right spectacles, and having looked it into a practicable shape, to have put it into shapely practice and serviceable good. These festering holes of physical and moral pollution, wherever they exist, present the same characteristics, and effect the same results. The "Journeyman Engineer," in his book, "The Great Unwashed," (page 148,) speaking of his house in London, says:—

"By night and by day, and considered from any or every point of view, our 'court' is certainly a most undesirable place of residence,—a place of so pitchy a nature, that few men may come in contact with it without danger of being, in some way, defiled; a place where crime and misery jostle each other, and disease is rife; a place in which any latent disposition to depravity and vice, in either man or woman, will be fostered and developed, and where childhood must be well guarded, indeed, if it be not corrupted. Yet, with all these drawbacks, a residence in it has not the single

advantage which it might naturally be expected to offer,—that of *cheapness*,—for the rent of a house in our ‘court’ is six and sixpence a week; though of the four apartments, of which the house consists, not one gives the *least* air-space consistent with health,—eight hundred cubic feet, which according to the highest authorities, is required for the bedroom of a single individual. And when, in houses of this kind, four or five—and in some instances as many as seven—persons *live and sleep* in a single apartment, it can be no matter for surprise that ‘fever revels’ there, or that decency and morality suffer.” (This is a literally true sketch.)

Now the owners of the heathenish dens which we have visited, reeking with pestilent filth, and germinating the spores of disease,—dens contrived and constructed as with a purposed stoppage of light and air, God’s free, priceless gift to all, yet given to all without money and without price, seem not only to act on the principle of getting the most money for the least good supplied, with little regard to weal of individual or of society, but to act, also, on the principle of shutting out, besides, all the light and air of wholesome morals, thus robbing the soul of its normal rights, as they have the body of the decencies of life.

The “Country Parson,” in his essay on the “Moral Influence of the Dwelling,” makes remarks so appropriate to this subject, that we cannot but quote them. He says:—

“There are many persons in this world who would scout the idea that there is any necessity, or any use, for people who are not rich, to make any provision for their ideal life, or for their taste for the beautiful.” * * * “Beauty, some think, is the right and inheritance of the wealthy alone; food to eat, clothes to wear, a roof to shelter from the weather, are all that workingmen should pretend to.” * * * “I verily believe that there are numbers of wealthy men, especially in the ranks of those who have made their own money, and who received but little education in their youth, who think that the supply of animal necessities is all that any mortal (except themselves,) can need.” * * * “The fellow is well-fed, well dressed, and well housed, and what can he want more? Why, had he been a pig, or a horse, he would have wanted nothing more; but the possession of a rational soul brings with it pressing wants that are not of a material nature, and which are not to be supplied by material things, and which are not felt by pigs and

horses,—and the craving for objects of grace and beauty is one of these which cannot be killed out but by years of sordid money-making or grinding want.”

Nay, we may add, not even the latter can do it, for in some of the tenement rooms which we visited, we saw indications of the existence of such a craving in the simple prints, cut from pictorial papers, which were affixed to the walls. And it is to be noted that, in all the instances in which this occurred, both the room and the occupant were kept neat and clean.

HOMES OF THE MIDDLE CLASS.

Most people are undoubtedly familiar with the homes of our middle class. They are, indeed, in strong contrast with those we have herein before described, presenting evidence of an improved condition over those of the laborers of a century or two past. The answers, however, to our blank No. 3, on the question of *debt*, show that these parties feel the curse of poverty reaching up to them from out of the realms of pauperism. Now this pauperism is usually selected as the strongest illustration of poverty, the destitution of the low-paid laborer coming in to reinforce it. But it must be remembered that the pauper class in this Commonwealth, and probably everywhere, is mainly composed of the unproductive, as the aged and infirm, the feeble and simple-minded, the unthrifty through physical or hereditary causes, the existence of which classes is an ultimate effect of long-engendering processes, which, having the unequal distribution of wealth as their fountain, have operated for centuries to produce just these results. And here it may be remarked, that if lack of food, of clothing, of convenient shelter, and of very many other real necessities of life is poverty, then there may be found in abundance a poverty that is more oppressive than that of the pauper protected by state or city charity. Eloquent tongues and graphic pens, with grimly graphic eloquence, have described the terrible wretchedness of both these phases of want, of which the semi-pauperism seems to be the more unhappy. But there is a poverty of which no man heareth, a struggle to maintain some degree of social respectability which no eye seeth; a pressure upon the spirit kept

buried within the spirit, of the bitterness of which none speaketh, but in hushed whisper to some sympathizing ear.

The poverty of the middle class, of the skilled and intelligent laborer, is none the less real, though the less apparent. For while the veritable pauper eats the bread of municipal or state charity, and the low-paid and unskilled laborer partakes of the scanty bounty of the various benevolent societies, and is helped by friendly beneficence, these suffer on, and are silent. Widely apart in education, and in the refinements and comforts of life, from their poorer fellows, they are really no further removed from want, for the comforts of the unskilled are the necessities of the skilled, and the wage of the one, though double, it may be, of that of the other, is consumed in his necessary cost of living.

Statesmen and political economists fall into error when they compare the condition of the European and American laborer, unless they take into consideration the possibilities of the several forms of existing governments. If the skilled workman here, of whom it is said, that he is well-fed, well-clothed and well-housed, stands in bold relief, when contrasted with his underfed, poorly-clad and worse-housed brother of the old world, it must be remembered that all our surroundings here, our system of coöperative government, the grandest experiment in coöperation ever attempted, demand even more than this seeming material prosperity, for the workman, if a voter, unless he be removed from want, by at least a year's supply, is in danger of the persistent and omnipresent demagogue, and gaunt want, looking over his shoulder, like Mephistopheles over the shoulder of Faust, decides his vote, and almost uniformly in the interest of ignorance and vice. We talk, and with justifiable satisfaction, about the advance of our present civilization, of the high art of our day, of the growth of capital, of the increase of the every-day conveniences of intercommunication, of a more diffused and better education, of our more refined amusements, of our cheaper and better literature, of the rapidity of spreading news, of our reading-rooms, libraries, lectures, and the thousand advantages of our present time. These are all good things, and acceptable. Let us be grateful for them and preserve them for our children. Yet they are really but the ornamentations of life, and make no proof that the laboring

classes do not encounter frightful difficulties in making a mere living. The greater gains seem to go to those who already hold great gains, the largest slice of the loaf to him who has the most bread, so that the scriptural saying has a physical fulfilment that "to him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not, shall be taken even that which he seemeth to have." Everybody knows that this is true, and knows that the tendency always was, is now, and ever will be, under the ordinary arrangement between capital and labor, for the one to get the most for the least outlay of its means, and for the other to get the least for the most outlay of its means. So the abyss between the two is widened, and while under some extraordinary and fortunate contingency, a laborer becomes a capitalist and an employer, it is far more frequently the case, that his toiling brethren, unable to meet the cost of living, are absorbed into the legions of pauperism, and so the ranks of effective producers are thinned out.*

In contrast with the description given above of homes (?) in Friend Street Court and Stone's Alley, Young's Yard and the Crystal Palace, we give that of another home, as described after an actual interview. There could not be selected much more glaring samples of the unequal distribution of wealth, nor a more palpable illustration of unnecessary wealth and unnecessary poverty, than those afforded in the house of the late Mrs. Riley, murdered in Stone's Alley for five cents, and in that of the successful accumulator whom we instance. Both the houses are in the city of Boston. We take our account of the latter from the "New York Sun."

"The house is of four stories, with windows of large French plate glass. The kitchen, laundry, and dining-room are in the basement, and on the first floor is an extensive drawing-room the whole length of the deep house; the reception rooms are on the floor above, and above those, the library and chambers,—the billiard and card rooms occupying the fourth floor. The carpets are Axminsters, woven solid, scarlet groundwork, with central figures of flowers

* There were in the city of London, 123,961 paupers at close of the year 1866.

143,980	"	"	"	1867.
147,753	"	"	"	1868.
152,980	"	"	"	1869.

This last number being equal to one-ninth part of the estimated population of Massachusetts for 1870. The population of London is about 3,000,000.

woven into an immense bouquet. The furniture is solid rosewood, highly polished, and the curtains are of the richest lace. The rooms glow with rare flowers, delicate plants and shrubs. The drawing-room is furnished with a degree of splendor seldom, if ever, equalled in New England. The chandeliers are imported from Paris; the walls are dressed with costly paintings. The billiard and card rooms are carpeted with scarlet, and the halls and stairways with crimson Brussels, and all the rugs and mats are most costly and elegant. The jewels of the occupant are not only more numerous, more varied, and comprising a greater range, but are the most valuable in the country. There are watches set in diamonds, with very fine long and short chains—one of which is perhaps the only one of the kind to be found here. There is a diamond brooch with a centre diamond and sixteen stones, each worth \$3,000 in gold, a set of diamond ear-rings and necklace valued at \$30,000, all the jewelry of this sort being valued at \$400,000. There are also supplies of horses, coaches, and all things else that go to make up the highest appointments of the most exuberant wealth, and the more than ducal magnificence."

Our only object in presenting the above is to illustrate the existing fact of the marvellous inequality of the distribution of wealth, and to present in the contrast of the two homes,* the results of a system which has engendered unnecessary riches and unnecessary poverty,—the one party murdered for a bit of fivepenny scrip, which the other would not stoop to gather up if dropped upon the ground.

This picture of contrast gives a suggestion about the question of production. The home of wealth (not meaning inordinate wealth, for such our argument does not imply,) calls for the satisfaction of a thousand wants, and this satisfaction may demand that a thousand work-folk be set at work; and on this plea the English people demand and justify expensive habits in the royal family, and amply supply the means, forgetting that the more extravagant the royal expenditure, the less there will be for the people to expend in the purchase of mere comforts, or even necessities. Inordinate wealth seeks justification of its large expenditures and elegant manner of life on the same plea, and the plea has some strength,—and doubtless many hands find much work therefrom, and if limited within

* See p. 174.

the bounds of a true culture and a delicate refinement, nobody complains. But it is manifest that under a more equal distribution of means, there would be a more equal distribution of the culture and refinement, which means produce. Wealth not excessive is a blessing. Increased means calls for increased production, and increased production lessens cost, and so makes comforts more easy of attainment, and elegance possible. And, on the other hand, poverty is a curse, and a very deep one,—extensive in its cursing influences, and inexorable in its demands for self-denials, and its prohibitions against all refining appliances of all sorts. And not only that, but permitting few of the very necessities of life, it ignores most of its comforts, and pushes its elegances far beyond the reach of even the liveliest imagination, if it be within supposable possibilities, that the people of whom we speak, have any such thing as an imagination.

Edward King, under date of February 1, 1870—(“ Boston Journal,” February 19, 1870,) speaking of the homes of French operatives, says :—

“When the labor question was first agitated thoroughly in France, all thinking men were shocked at the total lack of domestic life among the working classes, and the fact that the entrance of woman into the great manufactories seemed to have uprooted the family relation. The workman married, it is true, and children came around his hearth ; but that hearth was unblest by a mother's and a wife's care, and no love light seemed to burn upon it. The evil grew so largely that it soon gave rise to that cruel and unjust remark with which strangers so often content their critical sense—that ‘there are no homes in France.’ Now the Frenchman is by nature an admirable domestic being, and it was only the rude conditions of the toil of the work class, that for a time banished the household gods. Attention was first centered on the distressing condition of workmen's families at Lille, where, a good many years ago, an eminent philanthropist and statistician found three thousand homes which had fallen into an almost savage condition. M. Blanque, for it was he who reported this startling discovery, told the people of the country that he had found intelligent and honest people living in holes which were unfit for wild beasts. Nearly all the working people of Lille lived under ground in small cellars, where fetid damps and miasmas were by no means unfrequent. Some

hundreds of these cellars still exist in the same city, and are inhabited by workmen not yet emancipated by the so-called progress France is making. M. Blanque said that he found some of these cellars as filthy as stables, and heaps of filth, garnished with egg shells and coffee grains, were the marks which told him he was approaching a workman's dwelling. Into some of these cellars one was obliged to descend by miserable ladders; and the daylight never entered any of them in its full purity. A confusion of sexes was of course necessary in such dens. Mother and father, brother and sister, slept in the same room; and M. Blanque assured his countrymen, with appalling statistics, that incest was not at all unfrequent. From 1859 to 1864 the attention of all France was called to Lille as one of the most shameful instances of retrograding in these progressive times. At Roubaix,* at Saint Quentin, large towns with rough, mixed populations, the state of affairs was nearly as aggravated. At Roubaix, families who had been fortunate enough to let some miserable room on the ground floor of an ill-ventilated and undrained house, generally sublet some part of the room to a young girl, honest or abandoned, as the case might be, and she slept in the same room where perhaps besides the parents, there were a dozen relatives, children, &c. As late as 1860, even, the working people of Roubaix still kept up what they called the 'cage' system of sub-letting. They would build a sort of wooden, cage or berth, on one side of the room, with a rough trap-door concealing its interior, and rent it to some poor couple or starving woman who could not afford to rent a whole room. At Amiens, the working population, even now, has the reputation of being the worst lodged in France, and coöperative building societies have not succeeded to a noticeable extent there. Amiens strikes a stranger as one of the neatest and most comfortable cities in the world; but the majority of the workers still inhabit the miserable, crooked and narrow little streets which lead into the vast boulevards given up to commerce, and in those streets there are rookeries only equalled by those of East London.

* At Roubaix, the Lowell of France, with a population of 60,000, wages in the mills are:—

	Per day of 12 hours.	Annual average.†
For Men Combers,	52 cents	\$156 00
Women "	36 "	108 00
Men Spinners,	52 "	156 00
Women "	36 "	108 00
Weavers,	45 "	135 00
Dyers,	52 "	156 00

† Losing no time from any cause.

“Cost of living \$162, exclusive of meat (which they never get,) clothing, furniture, taxes, &c. In 1863 there were but 487 marriages,—and 283 births were illegitimate.

“At Rouen only a dozen years ago, a distinguished Frenchman wrote: ‘You enter the houses of the working class only by long, narrow and obscure alleys, in which often a man cannot stand erect. In the middle of these alleys runs a fetid rill, full of swill and filth, thrown from all the windows and cellars. In most of the tenements a bed and stove are the only furniture, without sheets or other covering, and their cooking utensils are few and very primitive. The youngest children sleep on sacks of ashes; the rest of the family plunge pell mell—father and mother, brothers and sisters—into a litter indescribable as the mysteries it conceals. Let no one ignore the fact that there exists among us thousands of human beings in a worse than savage state.’ There is still some resemblance to this horrible picture in many of the large provincial French towns. One old woman at Rouen told the commission which investigated the condition of tenements there, ‘I am not rich; but, God be thanked, I have my bundle of straw to sleep on.’ The principal reason that proprietors of these miserable houses did not themselves try to do something to bring their tenants out of such a barbarous condition, was that their incomes from the rentals were so moderate. A chamber—or rather a cellar—such as those of Lille, would bring a rent of four francs, or eighty cents per month only; and even this was almost overwhelming for people who were not sure of work for more than half the year, and who went hungry, on an average, one day weekly. So great was the misery at the time societies of mutual aid began to spring up, that even the bed, the bed which French law does not allow to be seized for debt, was missing in many of these parodies on homes. The custom among the proprietors, in all large manufacturing towns, used to be to take out the windows and unhinge and carry away the doors from the chamber whose tenant could not pay on rental day. This broad and freezing hint generally drove the family into the street.

“Capital and labor began to co-operate thoroughly for the good of labor—and thus for the good of the state—in France at Mulhouse. The model houses there date from 1853. Mulhouse is a scrawny hybrid, where there is a large German population mingled with the French. Mr. Dollfus, head of the great firm of Dollfus & Milg, found one day that he was in the midst of a diseased and disorganized community. Drunkenness, libertinage and disregard of ordinary decency prevailed among his workmen and women. He was a man of great strength of character, and determined to reform

those who worked for his wages. He had seen the mutual aid societies and the cheap restaurants operate; he had witnessed the inability of the savings bank system to foster economical habits among his workers; and he dug deep into the subject. At last he said, 'These people must have an object to save for. They never can muster courage enough to create that object. I must create it for them.' And he did.

"There is a huge plain between Dornach and Mulhouse—those two rude, practical Alsatian towns; and there M. Dollfus started his model city for workingmen. He resolved to build, at any risk, a large number of small and neatly arranged houses, surrounded by gardens, which should be planted with fruit trees and flowers. When these houses were done he would offer them to his workmen for what is in Europe a fair per cent. on the capital invested as their rental, for a certain term of years, at the end of which time the houses should become theirs. For instance, he offered a house and garden, the house just large enough for an ordinary family, for 3,000 francs (\$600), to be paid in monthly sums, about the same as the workmen had been paying for their filthy dens in the side streets. The temptation to become owner of the house was the great motive with the workmen. They saw their liberation ahead. Dollfus courageously built 100 houses the first year. The gardens around them were large and well arranged. He trembled for his experiment's success, but the houses were taken. The rents were paid promptly. More than that, workmen were ambitious to buy their houses quickly, and money that once went to the wine shop now went into the savings bank. Dollfus was right; the workmen only needed an object to economize for, and he had given it them.

"The end of 1853 saw the 100 houses filled, and in 1859 there were 428 in the city. In 1867 the number had increased to about 600, and building is always going on. It is one of the happiest little nooks in the wide world. Roses bloom on cheeks which were pale, and rival the color of the roses in the gardens. Women who had been working fourteen hours in gloomy despair in factories, came back to the hearthstone. Babies flourished, the communal school taught them letters, and the gardens of M. Dollfus showed them nature. The workmen and women of Mulhouse were saved out of the horrible pit into which they had fallen!

"The 'Building Society' which M. Dollfus finally founded clung to its idea of separate houses for families in the main, but built later one or two 'tenement blocks' for single people, which are less homelike but very comfortable. It was the idea of the restoration of the family, however, which made M. Dollfus's success. Year

after year improvements are made in the 'city,' as it is called. Now-a-days no workman is ever haunted by a doctor's charge. All who live in the model buildings have free attendance during illness. There are public baths and libraries and gymnasiums, which would shame an American factory town. The houses which originally cost 3,000 francs are now held by their workmen owners at 5,000, but are rarely sold. They will hardly pass from one family to another in three generations. The monthly rent of a whole house is in no case more than 20 francs (\$4) monthly. In 1861, the city had 4,497 inhabitants. They sent up one of their houses to the Paris Exhibition of 1867, and came themselves with plenty of money in pocket. Coöperation of labor and capital had saved them when nothing else could.

INTEMPERANCE.

To the often repeated charge that the working class is drunken, ignorant and venal, we can give no better answer than that embodied in the "Great Unwashed," a book treating of life among the working classes, by a journeyman engineer, London, 1868, to which we have already referred :—

"Although it would be a gross libel upon the working classes," says he, "to describe them as generally drunken and ignorant, a great amount of drunkenness and ignorance still exists among them; and though this, of course, to some extent, tells against the entire body, a large proportion of it will be found centered in the poorer sections of them; so that, taking the lower portions of the working classes apart from the general body, it is unhappily an over true tale, to say that ignorance and drunkenness prevail among them to a marked extent. Not that these poorer sections are inherently more vicious than the more fortunately situated members of their own class, or than the wealthier grades of society, but because, as a rule, an almost brutish state of ignorance is an inevitable result of the abject poverty which surrounds them from their birth upwards; and this poverty, with the ignorance resulting from it, is the natural parent of drunkenness, violence and venality."

* * * "They are compelled to live in the low, disreputable neighborhoods in which the roughs take up their quarters. The household is generally dirty and overcrowded; and it is probably this circumstance that, in a great measure, leads, in the first instance, to his loafing about public houses, and at street corners, when not at work. He is a canker upon our social system, for

which that system and its organizers and rulers are, more than himself, responsible."

The truth of this statement is verified in the answer to question No. 77, Blank No. 2, to employers, from which it will be seen a very small percentage is intemperate. It is a well understood fact that employers will not hire drunken or intemperate men. For as an employer remarked to us, he had rather have a *thief* than a *drunkard* work for him, as he could watch the thief, and there was not near as much risk to run with him as with the man who is never safe, though watched. It is well known that indulgence in the use of intoxicating drinks, has always been one of the accursed evils that have assailed and vanquished thousands of low-paid laborers, both here and abroad. But the malady is not confined to them, since it has successfully attacked many, who, though not toiling nor spinning, do yet "gather into barns," and who are included among the wealthy classes. We think it not difficult to account for the fact of drunkenness among the low-paid laborers. Their whole life and surroundings have been always antagonistic to goodness and purity, and failing, therefore, to appreciate the beneficent moral influences of innocent recreation, and having always been in contact with its debasing opposites, and so growing up thoroughly "of the earth, earthy," and their own human nature, like that of all other men, demanding some relief from the delving monotony of daily toil, and the jading realities that beset and torment them, they grasp at those that are nearest, most familiar, cheap and exciting. Specially are they allured when they see that among the means resorted to by more fortunate people for their recreation, are much eating and more drinking. Naturally concluding from the exhilaration which the latter of these two pastimes produces, that quick and much happiness, even though temporary, cometh thereof, they try the same means themselves, though with a more accessible, but more rapidly destructive fluid, and soon become rapid runners down the road to ruin.

Most terribly unfortunate is it for them and theirs, that the exhilarating means at which they grasp, the cheap joys at which they aim, are deadliest in all their influences. They help them, indeed, for the moment, to forget their humiliations,

but for every moment of oblivion they give, they fasten a fang of death into them, that never releases its gripe, till, thoroughly demon-held, with all that God gave them, when made in "God's own image," blotted out, each poor victim, who might have been an angel, is made an infernal devil,—

"On whose nature
Nurture can never stick; —————
————— all, all, quite lost;
And as with age, his body uglier grows,
So his mind cankers."

Now if you will trace the pestilent poison that does this hideous mischief to him and to the countless thousands of his fellows, to the alembic of its distillation, you shall find—oh, most strange, marvellous, shameless and deplorable verity!—that it comes of the expert skill and fraud, with which progressive science and civilization have enabled men, and enriched them too by the foul misdeed, to coin death from life, and from out of the blessed fruits wherewith God hath enriched the earth for sustenance of man, to sublimate the venom that kills the body and immolates the soul. And while the doer of this foul wrong, may, from out of the affluence that it brings, "fare sumptuously every day, clad in purple and fine linen," his undone dupe shall be—

"all bare and full of wretchedness,
————— famine upon his cheeks,
Need and oppression staring in his eye,
And on his back hang ragged misery."

Little wonder is it, that the surroundings of men, sunk down as these ill-paid toilers are, affect their whole life, present and prospective, sour their tempers and harden their hearts. Deaden a man by profitless toil, by disappointment, by deprivation of all hope of advance, by debt, by dark despair, by desponding solicitude for self and household; let him see and know that none of life's good, in any of its multivariied forms, is likely, in any lapse of time, to fall to his lot; that he can never hope to be lifted above the condition of debasement into which, with no volition of his own, he was born, and small wonder it will be, if he have any emotions at all, that they will partake in some measure of the elements of "evil and mischief—of hatred, and malice and all uncharitableness." And

as he looks over and beyond the abyssmal gulf that yawns between him and those whom accidental wealth, not the attainment of their own industry, nor the creation of their own skill or talent, which they have never increased, nor in some cases, could increase if they would, for lack of capacity, let him see not only every want, but every wish that springs within them, unreasonable even though they be, at once gratified, and he must be a good deal more than mortal and a little less than angelic, not to feel some vigorous stirrings of envying within him, and some sturdy breaking of the commandment which saith, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is his." May the recording angel, whenever such covetings arise, drop a tear over the registry thereof, and blot it out forever.

This subject is one of the deepest interest and anxiety, and is closely intertwined with the question of industrial reform, but it cannot now, with our present means, be enlarged upon to the extent of its limits and bearing. An interesting field of inquiry will present itself, as to what is the influence of improved and delicate machinery upon intemperance, in its demands for a rigid sobriety on the part of the workmen to whose hands it may be confided, and who may thus have the custody, not only of property, but of life.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

On review of the whole subject, the importance of which cannot be overestimated, and after thoughtful consideration of the testimony submitted to us, and the various communications we have received, both oral and written,* we believe,—omitting other and weighty matters,—that the discontents so widely spread, and which manifest themselves so frequently in the evasion of employments involving manual labor, and the efforts to exchange them for callings considered more respectable, render it imperative that the State, following the lead of the general government, should so legislate as to endeavor to render manual labor as competent to achieve culture, as any other employments, professional or mercantile. Furthermore, we have arrived at these conclusions:—

1. That the hours of labor are too long, and that the pre-

* See Appendix.

liminary step to remedy the evil, is the enactment of a law restricting labor in all manufacturing and mechanical establishments in the State, to *ten hours per day*, or to *sixty hours per week*.

2. That the present law in relation to the employment of children in manufacturing and mechanical establishments in the State, is a dead letter, and that to remedy this evil, an enactment should prohibit the employment of *any child under thirteen years of age*, nor at that age, unless such child has received the elements of a common school education,—age and education to be matters of due certificate provided for by law—and no children under fifteen years to be employed in such establishments more *than eight hours a day*, and those to be between seven o'clock in the forenoon, and five o'clock in the afternoon, or within a period of five hours before, and of five hours after midday.

3. That legislation having hitherto favored capital, almost exclusively, the remedy for this partiality is the extension of its protection to labor, so that associations of *labor* shall be as favorably recognized, as associations of *capital*.

4. That the wage system, (though better than the villenage which it succeeded,) which has been to the present day, the accepted method of distribution of the proceeds of labor, has proved to be adverse in its influence to the general good, and that it should yield to the system of coöperation,—the vital question being, how to educate the people up to the adoption thereof.

5. That there is peril to life and limb from unguarded machinery, and peril to health from lack of ventilation, and insufficiency of means of escape in case of fire, in many establishments, and that these evils can only be prevented by detailed enactments.

6. That there will be great difficulty in carrying any remedies into effective force, excepting by establishment under law of a system of inspection, as in England.

7. That the whole subject of tenement houses, their evils, and the remedies therefor, and the enforcement of all laws relating thereto, be committed to the State Board of Health.

We present the remarks foregoing, with an earnest appeal to the legislature to give this momentous subject a consideration not limited by the imperfectness with which our inexperience and brevity of time have compelled us to render it, nor restrained within the very inconsiderable portion of the vast field we have been able to survey,—but measured, rather, by its own inherent merits, magnitude and importance, for with it is interwoven the welfare of the Commonwealth, to whose law-makers is confided the obligation “to see that the republic receives no detriment.”

Respectfully submitted by

HENRY K. OLIVER, *Chief.*

GEORGE E. McNEILL, *Deputy.*

APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

REPLIES TO BLANKS, EXTRACTS THEREFROM,

TESTIMONY, AND REMARKS,

With Statistical Tables:

SUMMARY OF LAWS RELATING TO THE GENERAL SUBJECT,

WITH

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS UPON LABOR,

AND INDEX.

A P P E N D I X.

This part of our Report contains the replies given to the queries contained in our Blanks Nos. 1 and 2, addressed to employers, and to our Blank No. 3, addressed to employés, with "General Remarks" taken from all three. The expression, "*Office No.*," signifies the number given by us to each return as it stands on our own files, for convenience of reference. We have given the business in which the several respondents are engaged, and such summary of replies as may make each one's meaning complete, dividing the various subject-matters discussed into distinct headings. For instance, under Questions Nos. 5 and 6, Blank No. 2, relating to "*Competence*" *acquired by Employés*," will be found replies gathered from this Blank upon that subject, using, as nearly as possible, the exact language of the respondents, and adding, at the close, a general summary of the views expressed. Following this will be found some remarks from a gentleman long resident in New Bedford, upon the subject of the whale fishery, its general condition, and method of compensation.

The answers to Blank No. 1, together with such replies from No. 2, as admitted of being tabulated, will be found in Tables Nos. 2, 3, and 4.

The answers to Blank No. 3, selecting all that could be tabulated therefrom, will be found in Tables Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10.

At the close of the extracts from Blank No. 3, we insert the testimony of a lady familiar with the work, wages, and life of working-women.

SUMMARY OF REPLIES TO QUESTIONS,

WITH

EXTRACTS AND REMARKS.

[FROM BUREAU BLANK No. 2.]

OPERATIVE SHAREHOLDERS.

1. Are your employés of any grade,—overseers, or operatives of any rank,—owners of shares, or of stock in your own establishment?
2. If *yes*, give the greatest and least number of shares owned by any one overseer, and the greatest and least number owned by any one employé, *not an overseer*, and the whole number owned by overseers, and the whole number owned by other employés.
3. Give the department of labor in your establishment in which such owners severally work.

REMARKS.

The replies to these questions, so far as our returns indicate, show that, with the exception of the coöperative iron and cigar manufacturers, (Office Nos. 9 and 64,) no *operative* owns shares in the business in which he is engaged. A few overseers are owners of shares.

PAR AND MARKET VALUE OF SHARES, AND AVERAGE PROFITS FOR FIVE YEARS.

4. What is the par value of each of such shares, and what their market value, at present date, November 1, 1869, and what the average semi-annual profits of the last five years?

REMARKS.

With but few exceptions, this question is unanswered. The figures in foot-note on page 110, were derived from Martin's Tables, and were the dividends from 1862 to 1869, inclusive.

COMPETENCE EARNED BY OPERATIVES.

5. Have you ever known instances wherein an ordinary operative earned a competence? or was enabled to retire at fifty years of age, on moneys earned as a wage-laborer?

6. If *yes*, what percentage would the number of employes so earning be of the whole number of your employes?

[Of the 1,218 blanks sent to employers, only 209 were returned. (See Table A.) To these questions, 77 employers answer, *No*; 36 answer, *Yes*; of whom 14 add, *A very small percentage*; and 96 make no reply whatever.

EXTRACTS.

Office No. 177. States "that two per cent. of his employes, with the aid of their children, have earned such a competence."

Office No. 56. The writer says, "Yes, but rare."

Office No. 236. A Boot Manufacturer says: "Yes, but starved their souls."

Office No. 162. A Rope Manufacturer. "No! they cannot live a month when not at work, without incurring debt!"

Office No. 57. A Manufacturer. "I have known operatives who have done well at their wages, and saved a good deal of money, but the 'retiring at *fifty*' I am not aware of."

Office No. 52. A Paper Manufacturer. "I don't know what is meant by a 'competence;' whether enough to sustain them without labor, or with. Our employes prefer to work, laying up their surplus earnings."

Office No. 92. A Cotton Manufacturer. "We have been in business but a few years; should say the matter of retiring at fifty years of age, with a competence, would largely depend upon the faculty for economizing."

Office No. 106. A Woollen Manufacturer. "Yes; we have six such men in our employ, who can retire on their earnings. Doubtless there will be many more such at fifty years of age, as a great many are laying up money."

Office No. 88. A Cotton Manufacturer. "If I knew what was considered a competence, I could, perhaps, answer more definitely. My attention was called a few days since to a female in the employ of the company, who, with her son, (aged 16 years,) has laid up \$1,000 in the savings bank,—money earned the last four years. The lady has been in the employ of the company for the last 25 years; how much she has laid up in that time, I do not know. I think that nearly all employed in the mills, by strict economy, can lay by a part of their wages."

Office No. 2. A Woollen Manufacturer. "We have run the mills but 12 years. Many of the operatives are shy, and put money in savings banks. No doubt many have a competency at *fifty*."

They do not wish to tell about their affairs. Some do not wish to be taxed. Don't know what per cent.; don't keep run of them. They change their abode frequently."

Office No. 150. A Cotton Manufacturer. "I have known many instances when, at the age of *fifty*, they have been able to retire to farms and other kinds of business. It is difficult to state what per cent., but think larger than in almost any other branch of labor!"

Office No. 113. A Woollen Manufacturer answers: "Not in this mill!"

Office No. 127. A Boot and Shoe Manufacturer. "We have been in the business but five years; but many of our operatives are money-saving men, and will earn a competence by the age of *fifty*, if their good and economical habits are continued."

Office No. 169. A Cotton Manufacturer. "I have a man in my employ—now an overseer—a bachelor till two or three years ago, who has worked in the mills from boyhood, (is now 48,) and must be worth some \$10,000."

Office No. 229. A Manufacturer. "I have known some, but very rare, and those cases when all the circumstances were favorable."

REMARKS.

The answers to these questions, and the extracts show, better than any theorizing, the actual condition of the wage-laborer, the results of the system of wages, and that the instances of even small competencies are the very rare exceptions to a general rule.

STORE AND STORE ACCOUNTS.

7. Have you a store or stores belonging to your establishment, or in any way connected with it, wherein are sold to your employés the ordinary articles of consumption?

8. If *yes*, are your employés compelled, either by your rules, or by necessity of remote living from any other store, to purchase thereat such household supplies? and, are ardent spirits, cider, beer or ale, sold from such store?

9. What average percentage of profit do you add to the cost of such articles in arranging sales therefrom?

10. Do you pay your employés in cash, or in orders on such store, or partly in each?

11. Do your employés, on an average, earn annually any amount of wages over and above their whole amount of indebtedness to you for rent, (if you furnish tenements,) and supplies at such?

Office No. 150. A Cotton Manufacturer. "We own a store, which is rented to other parties; our operatives buy where they

please; no ardent spirits, cider, beer or ale is sold therefrom. We pay our employés cash every month, deducting what they take from the store.

Office No. 102. A Lime-Kiln Employer says: "There is a store connected with his establishment; but that his employés are not compelled, either from necessity or remote living, to trade thereat; that there are no ardent spirits, cider, beer or ale sold therefrom; that he cannot exactly tell what percentage of profit he adds to the cost of articles he sells—probably from 10 to 20 per cent., according to the nature of the goods sold; that he pays his employés mostly in cash, but occasionally with an order on the store; that a majority of his employés earn an amount of wages over and above their whole amount of indebtedness to him for goods, rent, &c.

Office No. 122. A Woollen Manufacturer. "The store is owned by the proprietors of the mill; but is rented to and carried on by an outside party. The employés have the privilege of trading where they choose. Cider only is sold or allowed on the premises. We control neither the *price* or *sales*." "Do you pay your employés in cash, or in orders on the store, &c.?" He says: "Either, as the employer may direct; but mostly cash."

Office No. 58. A Cotton Manufacturer. "What average percentage of profit do you add to cost, &c.?" He says: "We do not add any more than enough to cover expenses and interest. They, (the employés,) have what they wish from my stock, and cash for balance." He also stated that his employés earn, on an average, annually, an amount of wages over and above their whole indebtedness to him for rents, supplies at store, &c.

Office No. 106. A Woollen Manufacturer states: That they have no store connected with their establishment; and adds, "There is a store in our village, but our people are not obliged to trade at it, as runners from stores in ————, three miles away, come to solicit their trade. No drinkables are sold at said store." In reply to question No. 10, he states that they pay cash, and no orders, and adds: "But we take their store accounts in, and charge them over to the buyer. We pay our employés over all such bills, over \$4,000 per month in cash."

REMARKS.

The system of stores and of store orders has almost disappeared; yet cases have been reported to the Bureau where, under the system, and recently, the operative became as much bound to his place of work, as the old villeins were to the soil.

TIME OF PAYMENTS.

13. How often do you pay off or settle with your employés? What was the number of employés in 1868, and what your total pay for labor in that year?

12. How much time elapses between the making up of your "time-rolls," and such paying-off, or settlement? and is any interest allowed on amount of pay during its detention?

REMARKS.

The time that elapses before "paying-off," varies. In the trades, Saturday payments are the rule, and that too, where large numbers of men are employed. In manufactories of textile fabrics, payment is made monthly, and the pay is held back, without interest, from 10 to 22 days.

EMPLOYEES AS CONSUMERS.

14. Are your employés consumers, to any amount greater or less, of their products as such employés, and to what extent?

15. If *yes*, do you sell directly to them, and at what per cent. over cost, or must they purchase of dealers, as do outside parties?

REMARKS.

The information derived from the very limited number of replies to these questions is unsatisfactory and unimportant. In some cases, articles of their own manufacture are sold to the producer at cost, but in most instances at a profit;—in many they are not sold at all.

STRIKES, AND DISCHARGES FOR TAKING PART THEREIN, AND ALSO IN LABOR REFORM MOVEMENTS.

16. Has there been any *general* strike among your employés during five years last past? and if *yes*, how long did such strike last?

17. Has there been a strike in the same period in *any* department of your labor? and if *yes*, in what department, and how long did such strike last?

18. For what object was such strike made? whether for *increased pay*, or *shorter time* with same pay?

19. What was the result of such strike?

20. What was the loss of time, and of aggregate earnings, to the parties in such strike?

21. What was the aggregate loss of production to you by such strike?

22. Did such strike affect the market value of your stock?

23. Was there any actual pecuniary loss to you by such strike?

24. Have any of your employés, at any time, been discharged by yourself, or by any superintendent or overseer in your employ, for participating in any strike, or for taking part in any movement known as a *labor movement*? and have you ever refused employment to persons discharged by other employers for such causes?

25. If any employés for *any* cause leave your employment, voluntarily or otherwise, do you, either personally, or by any other party, interpose any obstacle to their procuring employment elsewhere?

26. Have cases of such interposition ever occurred in your establishment?

Office No. 145. A Manufacturer. "When persons are discharged from our mill for misconduct, we notify the other mills in town of their discharge, and also refuse them an honorable certificate of discharge."

Office No. 159. An Iron Nail Manufacturer states, that they had a strike in the nailing department which lasted from three to four months; that the object of the strike was to obtain increased pay; that the result was "no increase;" that the loss of time and aggregate earnings to the parties participating in said strike, were thirteen thousand dollars. He also states that he has refused employment to parties for participating in *labor reform* movements.

Office No. 153. A Woollen Manufacturer states, that if employés leave his employment without notice, it is optional with him to report to neighboring manufacturers, and that such cases of interposition have occasionally occurred in his establishment.

Office No. 235. A Boot and Shoe Manufacturer. There has been a strike among the sewers, lasters and finishers of this establishment, but that the object was neither for increased pay or shorter time. He says: "They claimed the right to dictate to the employers who should and who should not be hired or discharged." He also states, as a result of the strike, that the strikers (Crispins) were not employed; that workmen not belonging to the Crispins were employed in their stead. He, moreover, states, that workmen in their employ have been discharged for participating in *labor movements*; and adds, "No Crispin need apply!"

Office No. 127. There has been a general strike among their employés, which lasted three weeks; that increase of pay was the object of the strike. "What was result of such strike?" He says: "The help resumed work at the old price! No advance!" He also states, that the loss of time occasioned by the strike was about three weeks, and that the aggregate loss of time and earnings to the parties participating was about \$3,500, and that the aggregate loss of production was about \$20,000 dollars, and also, that said strike was an actual pecuniary loss to them.

Office No. 92. A Manufacturer. "We had a strike among the weavers of our factory for more pay, which resulted in increasing their pay. The strike lasted only two or three days."

Office No. 52. A Paper Maker. "A part of my men struck because I reduced the day's work to eight hours—the result was, I discharged them. I never discharged my workmen for engaging in a labor movement of any kind; if I discharge for misconduct, I state the facts and character of the man, if inquired about. I once put my mills into the hands of a part of the men; they tried it a year or so, and preferred to return to the wage system.*"

Office No. 147. A Factory Agent. "A strike occurred in our twisting-room, which lasted about twenty-four hours; it was because of the discontinuance of an allowance of fifty cents per week on board;" result not given. He further states, that there was also a strike in the dressing-room, for an allowance of fifteen minutes shorter time than in the other departments; they were discharged, and their places filled by others, at an expense to us of about \$20. Also states, they never discharge if they comply with our regulations. In answer to question 26, he says: "In a limited number of cases, when operatives have failed to observe regulations which they had signed elsewhere, and concealed the fact when they engaged with us."

Office No. 20. A Cotton Manufacturer. "A strike in the spinning department, lasting nine hours, to resist decrease of pay; that there was no apparent result, but was a loss of production of about 75,000 yards. I do not know of any person having been discharged for participating in any *strike* or *labor movement*. In case of persons leaving our employ, we do interpose obstacles in the way of their obtaining employment elsewhere."

Office No. 66. A Boot and Shoe Manufacturer. "There has been no strike in my own establishment," he says, "but have had much trouble, delay and loss from strikes in other establishments which furnished me with material. They were principally for shorter time and regulating the method of employment of help. The result was bad for the strikers, for their employers and for the customers of their employers. The loss to me was about \$500."

Office No. 58. A Factory Agent. A strike in the weave-room, lasting ten minutes; object, increased pay; result, choice to go to work the same as before or give up their looms. In answer to question 24, he says, "I think not;" to question 25, "Sometimes;" to 26, "Yes."

* The only case of the kind we have had given.

Office No. 129. Cotton Factory. In answer to question 25, says: "The principal mills in this city will not hire each others' help;" to question 26, he answers "Yes."

REMARKS.

A few strikes appear to have occurred in the individual experience of the respondents. The facts elicited are worthy of attention. It will be seen that the objects of the strikes were, severally, for *shorter time, for increase, and against decrease of wages, against shorter time*, (see Office No. 52,) *dictating with whom the strikers would or would not work, &c.* It also appears that participants in movements for labor reform, and in trade-movements, have been both discharged and refused employment. A system also appears to have been adopted by which employers mutually notify each other against the employment of such participants, so that the latter may be deprived of work in the same business in the same town or its vicinity, or even at more remote points; and, in some instances, members of trades-unions are not employed at all. (See Office No. 235.)

NIGHT WORK OF FEMALES AND CHILDREN.

27. Are your females, or child employés ever required to work extra time, beyond the time declared to be your regular running time?

28. If *yes*, do such employés receive *extra pay* for such *extra time*, or is such pay above the regular rate?

REMARKS.

Some instances of such night work are given, sometimes voluntary, and sometimes compulsory; and sometimes with, and sometimes without extra pay.

PARTICIPATION OF EMPLOYEES IN PROFITS.

29. Have you, since the commencement of business at your establishment, ever divided among your employés, any percentage of your profits, over and above their ordinary wages?

30. If *yes*, when was it done, and what percentage was so divided, and what was the greatest and least amount received by any employés?

REMARKS.

But a single instance of such division is given. (See Office No. 52, Answer on "Strikes.") We regret that full particulars of this unique experiment were not given.

IMPROVED MACHINERY.

31. Have you within ten years last past, substituted improved machinery in any department of your labor?

32. If *yes*, did such machinery render valueless, or of less value than before, any kind of skilled labor in such department? or dispense wholly with such labor?

33. Did such machinery enable you to work with a diminished number of employés in such department?

34. If *yes*, what was the diminution, and what was the diminished cost of production in such department?

35. What, also, was the percentage of increased product, and what the percentage of aggregate decreased cost effected?

Office No. 150. The writer says: "Some, but to no very great extent. Our machinery was all new nineteen years ago, and of the most improved kind; consequently, no great change has been desired. Such changes as have been made do not render valueless or of less value any kind of skilled labor in such departments, or dispense wholly with such labor." And he further states that such machinery did not much diminish the employés in such departments.

Office No. 218. "We have introduced new machinery within the ten years last past. It did not reduce the necessity of skilled labor, but rather enhanced it." He furthermore states, that with the improved machinery, he "dispenses with *three-fourths* of the labor," as it enabled him to work with a diminished number of employés, and diminishes the cost of production, "over fifty per cent." and that, the aggregate percentage of increased product has doubled.

Office No. 106. There has been a cloth-drying machine added within the ten years last past; but has not rendered skilled labor of less value, but works with a diminished number of employés. "It takes two hands less, at a reduction of \$2.25 per day for both." He also states "that there is no increase of product in consequence."

Office No. 7. Machinery has not rendered valueless or of less value, any kind of skilled labor. "Employed more workmen when extra machinery was added." He also says: "The products were not increased by extra machinery, but the value of the goods was increased."

Office No. 4. Machinery has enabled us to work with a diminished number of employés; the diminished cost of production in that department was about *ten* per cent. In answer to question No. 35, he says: "The increase of machinery did not increase production, but diminished the cost, employing very much less number of hands."

Office No. 202. "We have, but only to a limited extent." He

states that the added machinery did not render any kind of skilled labor in that department less valuable. "Probably it enabled us to work with less number of employés. Such, of course, was our expectation, particularly in the use of closing, binding and pegging machines. In reality we use but little machinery; and in comparison with many shops, might say we use none. Experience proves that we can manufacture at as low a rate as other parties, with all modern appliances, and, at the same time, manufacture goods of equal grade."

Office No. 2. The writer also responds, "Yes," and states, that the additional machinery has not rendered skilled labor less valuable in the department where it has been added. In reference to the diminution of labor, the diminished cost of production, the percentage of increased product, &c., he states, that it has not diminished the number of employés, but adds: "It makes more perfect goods. A new machine will make a better quality and a little more. In woollen mills, we do not go into these nice calculations. The little ups and downs, as in cotton mills, it is difficult to detect. This result is not worth knowing. *The whole result*, after a careful watchfulness and good management, is what we wish mostly to know."

Office No. 169. States that new machinery has been added to every department of their factory, within the ten years last past; that it has not rendered skilled labor less valuable; but says: "The improved machinery enabled us to reduce the number of employés about *ten per cent* at first, reaching now to nearly *twenty per cent*." He states, that the diminished number of employés was ultimately about *fifteen per cent.*, and the diminished cost of production about the same relatively. In reply to question 35, he says: "About *12 per cent.* increased product, never, I think, *15 per cent.* The same relatively increased cost, though in 1859, \$6,250, would pay 525 hands, but in 1869, \$10,500, was wanted to pay 425 hands, or thereabouts."

Office No. 206. The respondent states that he has added new machinery within the ten years last past, but that it has not rendered skilled labor less valuable, in the department where it has been added; that such machinery enabled him to increase his business, and also the product of his business, from 25 to 40 *per cent.*; and furthermore, that the aggregate decrease of cost was 25 *per cent.*

Office No. 185. "We are just introducing wood-working machinery, but it is not yet in running order. Much of the work to be done by our machinery has been done for us by parties outside of our factory. By relieving our men of the more laborious work,

we give them employment on the lighter branches, and we must of necessity employ more help, not only to run the machinery, but to prepare and manufacture the stock for the extra instruments we are enabled to turn out in a given time; the demand being greater than the supply."

REMARKS.

The introduction of improved machinery has revolutionized many departments of business, its methods, productions and costs; and yet few have noted its permanent operations or effects. It is generally stated to have lessened cost, increased production, and to have diminished the percentage of employes. The conflict of replies is accounted for by its different influence in different employments. Its effect in health of body and brain, will be found under Answers to Questions 80 to 87 inclusive, Blank No. 3.

HEATING, LIGHTING, VENTILATING AND PROTECTION.

36. Do you heat the several rooms in which your employes labor, by steam, by furnaces, or by stoves?

37. Do you light those rooms for night-work, by gas, by oil, or by kerosene?

38. Have any accidents occurred from such methods of lighting, or of heating?

39. Have you any means of ventilating these rooms? and is such ventilation carefully attended to, and sufficient?

40. If *yes*, give a brief account of the system, on pages 7 and 8.

41. Have you ample and sufficient means of escape, both within and outside of your work-buildings, in case of fire?

42. If *yes*, give a brief account thereof, on pages 7 and 8.

43. Have you ample and sufficient stairways?

44. Have you ample and sufficient means, both within and outside of your work-buildings, for extinguishing fires?

45. If *yes*, give a brief account thereof on pages 7 and 8.

46. Is your motive-power, and are your wheels and shaftings of all sorts, your belting, and all other means of communicating motion, so secured as to prevent accidents of any kind?

47. Are your elevators, and hoisting and lowering apparatus, all so arranged as wholly to prevent accidents?

REMARKS.

Personal inspection is undoubtedly needed in all the above matters. Some of the new establishments are undoubtedly well arranged in the several details specified. (See Remarks from Blank No. 2, p. 237.) Yet we are impressed with the belief that

too little precaution is taken, either to secure proper ventilation and sufficiency of escape in case of fire, or protection against accident. The recent terrible calamity at a cotton-cleaning mill in Dorchester, by which six women were burned to death because of lack of means of escape, and the frequent instances of harm from unguarded machinery, demand vigorous protective enactment.

ACCIDENTS.

48. Have accidents, from any cause, occurred in your establishment at any time during five years last past?

49. If *yes*, from what cause, of what nature, and to what extent?

50. Was there any actual loss of life from such accidents?

51. In case of such accident, did you contribute, or do you customarily contribute, to the relief and maintenance of the party injured, by continuing his pay, or otherwise, and to what amount? or to his funeral expenses, if fatally injured?

Office No. 206. A Carriage Builder states, that there have been two injured in his establishment by circular saws, one with a planer, —two in the hand, and one in the arm. "It is our custom to continue pay when our workmen are injured in their customary work; but if they are injured by meddling with machines not necessary for their employment, we feel at liberty to act our own pleasure."

Office No. 169. A Cotton Factory Employer states, that the accidents which have occurred in their factory have been caused "principally by boys, girls and older persons getting their fingers nipped in the gearing through their own carelessness. One man, last summer, double-loaded the elevator, and, against strict instructions to the contrary, jumped on to the load and fell, which resulted in his death; he was a scuttle-tender, as the employment is called: since which time, all riding up and down has been forbidden. In this case, I gave the man "a handsome funeral," as the overseers called it, contributed other means, and now give the family, consisting of six persons, full employment. This man was careless, had met with a slight accident before, but would keep his place, answering me he should never be caught again. But, poor fellow! he was wrong. In case of accident, we usually pay the worker; I might say, invariably."

Office No. 7. An employer in the Palm Leaf business states that accidents have occurred in his establishment, caused "from being caught in a belt while carelessly running it on when the machine was in motion, and being drawn by it against a pulley, and held until the injury was severe;" that in this case there was actual loss

of life, and adds, "This case was previous to my taking possession, and but little was contributed by the owner."

Office No. 106. A Woollen Manufacturer. "Our superintendent had an arm broken by getting entangled with our hose when testing our force-pump. A boy got a severe cut with a knife while playing with another boy. Some of our weavers have had their fingers pinched and cut by having them caught in their looms; a few fingers have been shaved up in our shearing machines; but there has been no actual loss of life. The pay of our superintendent went on. In other cases only a few days' loss of time was experienced, and was borne by the injured parties."

Office No. 150. A Cotton Manufacturer, in answer to question 51, says: "In case of sickness or death, either or both, of our employés, neither the party nor his friends have ever asked assistance of the town. We always take care of such cases if the persons are unable to take care of themselves."

Office No. 92. He says: "A girl, twelve years of age, stuck her foot into a belt and broke the small bone in her leg, just above the ankle." To the other questions he answers, "No."

Office No. 78. In response to questions 48 and 49, a Cotton Manufacturer states, that they occasionally have accidents, and adds: "Only one severe case in several years. This case, which terminated fatally, was that of a boy who was caught between the mule carriage and the support to the roller beam, and was badly bruised internally. We paid a portion of the expenses."

Office No. 183. A Manufacturer. "That there had been an accident in his establishment during the five years last past, which occurred from putting on a belt, in the spring of 1865. A Mr. ——— caught his sleeve under the belt, and was drawn in by it, carried around the shaft, and so badly injured that he died in a few hours." In case of accident, he says: "We contribute something."

Office No. 111. A Paper Manufacturer. "One girl lost her life by falling into a bleach tub filled with boiling liquor, containing a strong solution of soda ash. In case of accident, he further states, "They customarily contribute to the relief and maintenance of the injured party."

Office No. 127. A Boot and Shoe Manufacturer. "There has been one accident;" and remarks: "The rope broke. Three men fell. One had an ankle broken, one an ankle dislocated, one unhurt." He states further, that he contributed to their relief "by continuing their pay in full."

Office No. 52. A Paper Manufacturer. "There has been one death by accident within the five years last past, caused by the

man going where it was useless to go, and where, in my opinion, he had no right to go, viz., to oil a gearing; and while in the act was caught in the gearing, which caused his death. I think I contributed reasonably. I am not in the habit of publishing such figures."

Office No. 147. A Factory Employer. "There have been only two accidents of a serious nature in this establishment during the last five years. Of these he says: "A boy attempting to put on a belt, (which was no part of his duty,) was caught in some part of his clothes, which held him to the shaft, and he revolved with it until it was stopped. No bones were broken, and he received no permanent injury. Another boy got one of his hands caught in the carding machine, which tore the flesh from the inside of the hand. The hand was saved, though somewhat stiff. The company have always allowed half pay to injured persons in their employ; have also furnished medical attendance, medicine and nurse to those without relations or friends able to take care of them. In one instance, a consumptive was sent to her home in Glasgow, Scotland, another to Montreal, Canada."

Office No. 20. Another Factory Employer states that accidents have occurred in their establishment during the five years last past; but in relation to the causes, he says: "No record is kept. Every case is believed to have arisen from the carelessness of the sufferer." Thinks there has been no actual loss of life from such accidents. In relation to contributing to the relief of sufferers by accidents, he remarks: "Frequently we have; but do not engage, and have no fixed rules so to do."

REMARKS.

That accidents are continually occurring from the above-named causes, is evidenced by the answers given, and the frequent recital of them in the public prints show that energetic legislation is needed to protect not only against overwork, but against injury to life and limb. In some cases that are reported, the employers seem to have aided the party injured, but in some, no help appears to have been afforded, it being considered that the employé when he gets work is to take all risks and all costs therefrom, if injured.

STOPPAGE OF WAGES AND PAY.

52. In case of stoppage of machinery from causes not within the control of yourself, or employés, do you stop *all* wages, or does the pay of salaried officers and overseers continue, and that of employés stop?

53. When *reduction* of wages takes place from any cause, is there likewise a reduction of pay of overseers, and of salaried officers?

REMARKS.

Two instances are given where the wages and pay of all stop. Twenty-seven report that the pay of employés stop, while that of salaried officers was continued. Generally the questions are unanswered. The reduction of pay seems to be wholly confined to the working operative, and not to affect any above him.

RELIEF SOCIETIES, LIBRARIES, LECTURES, RECREATIONS, &c.

54. Are there among your employés any associations for mutual relief and assistance in cases of accident or sickness?

55. If *yes*, is membership compulsory or voluntary on the part of employés? and what amount of assessment secures their benefit?

56. Is this assessment paid by each member personally, or do you deduct it from the monthly pay?

57. If it be so deducted, is the aggregate amount paid over to the treasurer of the relief society, or is it retained at the counting-room till needed? and if it be so retained, is interest allowed to the society during such retention?

58. Does the establishment over which you preside, contribute to the support of such society? and if *yes*, to what average annual amount?

59. Are there among your employés any associations for moral and intellectual improvement, or for wholesome recreation, in the way of lectures, concerts of music, social re-unions, &c., &c.

60. If *yes*, do you bear any part of the expense thereof, and to what average annual amount? Give a brief statement of them on pages 7 and 8.

61. Have you a library belonging to your establishment, free to the use of your employés?

62. If *yes*, how many volumes does it contain, what is the average weekly circulation, what expense is levied for its privileges, and what is the average number of readers?

REMARKS.

We regret exceedingly to be compelled to state that, with but one exception, no reply whatever was made to any of the foregoing questions. These queries, from No. 54 to 62 inclusive, were suggested mainly by reading a very interesting pamphlet, entitled a "Statement of the Pacific Mills, presented to the Special Jury of the Paris Exposition of 1867," and upon which the establishment was awarded a prize consisting of a "gold medal with appropriate emblems and motto, with name thereon, together with 9,000 francs in money and a diploma printed on

medallion card suitable for framing.” The blank directed to this establishment never came back, but a note was received from the agent, in which he says that “he should be unwilling to answer many of the questions if he could, while many demand answers which he cannot give, and that for the present time it will be impossible to do anything with them.”

APPRENTICES.

63. Do you provide systematic instruction for young persons entering your employ in the several departments of your business, so that, after a certain length of time, they would become experts therein?

64. If *yes*, how long a time would be necessary to become such expert in ordinary cases?

65. Have you ever had instances thereof? and have you any now, and what pay per week do such learners draw, and what proportion does the actual number of such learners bear to the whole number of skilled workmen employed?

66. If such instruction is given at your establishment, not by yourself personally, but by an expert in your employ who may be at piece-wages, do you compensate such expert for any time he may lose in giving such instruction? or does he derive any pecuniary benefit from any increased production effected by the learner?

67. Do you promote expert workmen of your own, as overseers of any grade, or do you select them from outside, or import them from abroad?

Office No. 106. A Woollen Factory Employer. “If young persons have the ability and application necessary to success.” As regards the length of time, he adds: “That would depend upon what branch they took up. Weaving, 2 months; carding, 3 or 4 years; finishing, 3 years; wool sorting, 1 year, &c.” “Have had a great many such cases. We always have more or less learners, whose pay depends upon the work, and what they can do; always aiming to pay what a man is worth to us—even to full pay. This question cannot be satisfactorily answered, as such learners are constantly shifting about,—commencing to learn one branch, and not having pluck enough to go through with it, and leaving it for something else, or else leaving our employ. In short, human nature is about the same in a woollen mill as elsewhere. Only a few will really succeed, not because the way is not opened to them, but because they lack the moral force.”

Office No. 127. A Boot and Shoe Manufacturer. “We have young persons in our employ, to whom systematic instruction is given. Three years are necessary to give them a fair knowledge of the business. The proportion of such learners to skilled workmen

is about one-sixth; and that they pay them from \$6 to \$10.50 per week.

Office No. 147. An Employer in a Cotton Factory states that no special instruction is given in his establishment, except to adult females, in spool winding; and that four weeks' time should make them sufficiently expert to commence piece-work; that he pays \$3 per week while learning, and never more than \$5 per week in that department of labor; that experts are employed by the company, at stated wages, to instruct learners.

Office No. 107. A Carriage Manufacturer says, he provides systematic instruction to some extent. "It takes about 5 years to become expert in the business. I pay apprentices three-fifths what I pay expert workmen. When a learner is under a piece-workman, the piece-workman derives the pecuniary advantage, if there is any, or sustains the loss, if there is any."

Office No. 88. A Cotton Factory Employer says: "It takes from two to four weeks in the factory, and from one to two years in the machine shop, to become expert. We pay the board of learners in the factory. From five to ten per cent. of our help, are at times, learners; allow our apprentices, in the machine shop, for the first year, board and clothes. In two or three years they draw the pay of good workmen."

Office No. 218. A Woollen Manufacturer. "I have provided instruction for young men in departments requiring skill; but such young men have left me when partially instructed, as wages were offered elsewhere higher than we paid. It takes four years to be a comber and spinner of worsted."

REMARKS.

The apprentice system seems to have given way before the advance of improved machinery, and the modern minute subdivision of labor, by which general skill in any specialty has been made to yield to the performance of one single detail of work by one single individual workman, rendering him an expert upon a unity, and dependent upon fellow experts in other unities, each one of whom is helpless without the others."

CHANGE OF EMPLOYEES—AVERAGE LIFE, &C.

68. In what time will your employés below the grade of overseers, etc., become wholly a new set? or, how frequently do you change a set of employés?

69. What is the average time that a set of machinery appropriate to your special business will last under ordinary care and repairs?

70. What is the average number of years of continuous labor (without vacation,) that can be endured by your employés in the several departments of your establishment, without breaking down, laboring *twelve* hours per day? What length of time laboring *eleven*, and what laboring *ten* hours per day?

71. Can you give the average length of the working-life of factory operatives? or the probable number of years, that an operative entering a mill at ten years of age and working say, eleven hours a day would live?

Office No. 106. A Woollen Manufacturer says: "Aside from floating, unskilled workmen, our hands are quite permanent, not changing entirely, oftener than once in twenty-five years. A great number of our employés have been with us from ten to fifteen years." In reply to question 70, he says: "It is impossible to tell. Before the late war we ran our works about thirteen hours per day; for the last eight years eleven hours, and we are not able to see any perceptible difference in the sanitary condition now and then. In our opinion, the diminution of labor an hour or two a day is no benefit, unless that time be rightly employed by the operative. More depends upon the intelligence of the workmen, in applying the laws of health, than upon an hour more or less work." In reply to question 71 he says: "We have a more intelligent class of help than the average, and all, or nearly all, are enjoying comfortable health. The death-rate in our village, from six to seven hundred inhabitants, is not one per cent. of the adults. There were only five deaths in 1868, two adults and three children. Thus far, in 1869, there have been two deaths, and none of the seven in both years were operatives."

Office No. 221. An Employer. "We work ten hours—do not know of any one breaking down, except when intoxicating liquors were freely used, or in consequence of other bad habits."

Office No. 112. Another Employer says: "Impossible to tell, as we do not think there ever was a case where it had been thoroughly tried."

Office No. 207. Another Employer. "We have no means of testing this question (70). We have never applied strict rules in our management, choosing to govern by justice and humanity, thereby gaining the affection and respect of our operatives; requiring only fair and faithful performance of their duties. This system perhaps would not do under some circumstances, but with us it works well."

Office No. 204. In response to question No. 68: "Some have worked since the commencement, 8 years. Some stay only a short time." In reply to question No. 70, he says: "Employment very healthy; cures invalids; average working about 13 hours per day."

Office No. 13. An Employer, in answer to question 68, says: "Our business was commenced in 1853. We have now two men in our employ who commenced in 1854; one in 1856; three in 1857; and one in 1858." In answer to question 70, he says: "Two men who had worked eleven hours per day, or twelve hours per night, interchangeably, from week to week, for ten and twelve years, respectively gave up their work this year, for some lighter work. Two others, who have been working in another branch for thirteen and sixteen years respectively, appear likely to continue for many years to come."

Office No. 25. A Factory Employer, in answer to question 70, says: "No person ever worked in our mill without a vacation, and most of them have from two to four vacations per year."

Office No. 180. An Employer, in answer to question 68, says: "As we only work about 8 months in the year, we employ nearly all new hands the next season." In answer to question No. 70, he says: "All our work is easy; no dust, and not injurious. Changing hands annually renders it impossible to answer this question. We, however, work only 10 hours in summer, and 9 in the spring and fall months, and I think that is long enough."

Office No. 28. An Employer in a Rattan Factory, in answer to question 68, says: "We seldom change, although our help has mostly changed within the last sixteen years. Our female help changes mostly from forming marriage relations." In answer to question 70, he says: "I think there is a difference between long and short time, especially if the outside time is passed in a hygienic manner; but have not the data to make the distinction."

Office No. 74. A Printer, replying to question 68, says: "We are constantly changing a portion of our workmen not skilled. Skilled workmen are kept as long as possible." In answer to No. 70, he says: "Ten hours per day without vacation, last one year."

Office No. 186. A Woollen Manufacturer, responding to question No. 70, says: "They enjoy good health, and work continuously at the hours we run. Our long experience of thirty years' manufacturing, proves this conclusively." In reply to question 71, he says: "They would live an average life of out-door labor."

Office No. 127. A Boot and Shoe Manufacturer. "Some of our workmen we and our predecessors have employed 20 and 30 years. We never discharge a good workman. Laboring 10 hours per day, we have those who have worked 27 and 50 years. Instances are rare that one of our employes dies from the work he has done at his trade."

Office No. 147. An Employer in a Cotton Factory. "We have

many employés who were with us when our works started, five years ago. Many leave and work elsewhere for a time, and then come back again." The average length of life of factory operatives is "Probably the full general average of other work people."

Office No. 218. Another Employer in a Woollen Factory. "Our employés seldom break down at woollen work. Employés can stand 11 hours per day. Hands under sixteen years of age are allowed rest and slight recreation during working hours."

Office No. 2. Same. "Very uncertain; according to their intelligence and aptness for the work they do. It depends upon their habits outside of mill hours. Licentiousness, gluttony, drunkenness, exposure, bad habitations, noisy and turbulent homes, will wear men out in half the time that steady labor in mills at usual hours of work will. This employment in general, is easy, compared with farming."

Office No. 33. A Boot and Shoe Manufacturer. "Our help is constantly changing." To No. 70: "It is impossible to tell. None ever work continuously, even a year at a time. It depends upon their moral and physical habits, together with inherited constitutions."

Office No. 107. A Carriage Manufacturer. "Have been in business 22 years, and have some of the men now. By death and other changes, I should think they would be mostly new in ten years." To question 70, he responds: "I have no men that average *ten* hours per day. Have no men but what have more or less vacation. All go and come when they please."

Office No. 88. A Cotton Manufacturer. "There are many employés here who have worked for the company 25 years." To question 70, he says: "I can only answer for myself. I commenced 25 years ago in a cotton mill, and have not had a vacation since (excepting five years in the army). I have worked 11, 12, 14 and 15 hours a day, and have as yet felt no bad effects from it, but rather been strengthened. It is not the hours per day that a person *works* that breaks him down, but the hours spent in dissipation."

Office No. 202. An Employer. "In several departments the men now in our employ have been with us for a good number of years. We strive to retain our old help." To question 70, he replies: "Ordinarily our men take a vacation some time during the year, or occasionally have a day or two time; therefore, we cannot form an opinion as to the number of years they can continuously labor. We seldom ever had a man break down."

Office No. 133. A Woollen Manufacturer states that their employés become a wholly new set in from one to 20 years, and adds:

"We have people who have been with us over 30 years." He replies to question 70, by saying: "We have but very little labor that is hard, and if so, like dye-house hands, the time will not average more than 9 hours per day."

Office No. 58. A Factory Agent. The desirable help we keep in our employ as long as possible. To question 70, he remarks: "Under this head I can say that my experience has been that the more the operatives work, the less liable they are to sickness. Monday is always the hardest day in a mill; and it is a fact that after, say a week or a month's idleness, the hands are not worth so much for some time, as before the stoppage. My own help spend all the time in the mill they can. At noon more than half will be in, ready to work if wanted, twenty minutes after they are let out; and I think that as a general thing, if the same care taken in making a factory comfortable and healthy, was taken in their own homes, that the health of the operatives would reach much above the average."

Office No. 56. Another Employer in a Woollen Factory responds to question No. 70, by saying: "We cannot tell, but have persons that have been in our employ, fifteen years, and are in good health; think operatives break down oftener from causes induced by intemperance than from hard or continuous labor."

Another Factory Agent says: "We never had any break down. Those that have come here in rather feeble health from other factories have always grown strong and hearty. Whenever they are sick the cause is from outside excesses."

Office No. 183. An Employer, a Tanner. "Changes in our business are very seldom made." "We never work but ten hours per day and nine hours on Saturday. Our business is, unquestionably, one of the most healthy pursued. Cases of sickness, with us, are very rare; and it is an old saying, that tanners never die."

Office No. 169. An Employer in Cotton Factory. "A good family is good for fifteen years; but such are rare; families change themselves. We never dismiss a family that will work. The French come and go; the Irish settle down better; average time difficult to determine." To question 70, he says: "A man thirty-seven old, a spinner, told me that he had been on our corporation thirty years; but did not think inside work had injured him. He is now a second hand. A spinning-room is considered by him not the most healthy room, in consequence of the dryness of the air, as he terms it. We labor eleven hours daily; cannot answer these questions satisfactorily. We have men fifty years and upwards who have worked in factories all their lives, and are now in good health."

Office No. 177. Another Woollen Manufacturer, in reply to question 70 says: "With good habits employés will break down only with old age, at twelve hours per day; with *ten* hours per day they will break down earlier in life. It depends upon the strength of moral character as you shorten the day."

REMARKS.

Some employments show a constant change of workmen, in others, instances are given where the same party has worked a life time of many years for the same employer. Question No. 70 is not well phrased, and might be improved, not being without ambiguity, and, therefore, not manifestly suggesting the reply to which it was intended to guide. It would appear from the reply to this and No. 71, that many hours' work in a factory, necessarily lighted for part of its working time with oil or gas, and subject to vitiated air, as well as heated to excess for the running of the work, so that operatives on encountering the outer air, are in danger of cough and colds,—that such work and confinement are conducive to health and favorable to longevity. If that be true, then these factories are blessings to invalids, and ought to be encouraged as resorts to the sick and impotent, for they would seem to be gifted with healing powers beyond the angel-troubled waters of the pool of Bethesda.

HOURS OF LABOR.

72. What, in your opinion would be the effect of a diminution of the hours of labor? Reply on page 7 or 8.

73. If favorable yourself to such diminution, what cause or causes, prevent your making such reduction?

Office No. 161. A Cotton Batting Factory, working sixty-seven and one half-hours per week, and reporting seven-eighths of their people temperate, answer that "we think there will be more rum drank and more gambling. Can't compete with those that run more hours."

Office No. 202. A Boot and Shoe Manufacturer. "As far as our experience has gone, a diminution of the hours of labor would diminish production and enhance the cost of the goods manufactured. Formerly our men worked eleven hours; of late years, ten hours. No more work is proportionally done in the less time."

Office No. 127. Boot and Shoe Manufacturer. "We consider the effect of a diminution of hours of labor below ten hours per day

would operate to the injury of the operative, and we are sustained in that opinion by many of our workmen."

Office No. 197. A Manufacturer of Fire Arms. "When reduced below ten hours, to reduce the product and increase prices."

Office No. 166. Bleachers. "Have invariably noticed when men are kept at work until ten P. M., they live in better health, as they keep indoors instead of sitting round doors smoking."

Office No. 63. Boots and Shoes. "Detrimental to the working classes. Would run factories eight hours for our own profit, but for the benefit of our workmen, in all, we run ten hours."

Office No. 107. A Carriage Manufacturer, working fifty-four hours: "My men now average about nine hours per day when they work; as they frequently take vacations during each quarter, it would perhaps make their time even less than nine hours per day. I think they are well contented with the number of hours they work. I have no lights so they cannot see to work much more than eight hours during the short days."

Office No. 101. Lead Works says that, "we should not get any more work done in the same number of hours than we do now." Not favorable to a reduction.

Office No. 4. A Palm-Leaf Hat Manufacturer says: "In my business increased poverty would be the result, or the business abandoned and some other employment sought. Cannot afford to pay the necessarily increased wages by the hour, to afford workmen a living or fair remuneration."

Office No. 75. Envelopes. "Cannot favor reduction of hours of labor from ten hours."

Office No. 52. A Paper Manufacturer gives the following in answer: "The matter is so complex that I think it would require a volume. I pay by the hour, and the men generally work as long as they please. In some departments we have regular day's work, nine hours in winter, and ten hours in spring and fall, and eleven in summer, averaging ten hours; at present, our day's work is eight hours, but some work twelve or fourteen, and all would if I would allow it."

Office No. 111. Another Paper Maker answers: "With us it would diminish pay, and we do not think it would in any way benefit the operatives whom we employ."

Office No. 7. Palm Leaf Manufacturer says: "I think, for most kinds of business, ten hours per day should constitute a day's work. My day hands do not average much more than nine hours."

Office No. 14. A Printer says: "Less productiveness, and less wages."

Office No. 77. Lead and Lead Pipe Company say: "We think that the diminution of the hours of labor would act unfavorably upon the working classes as a whole. Some might be benefited who would improve the time by study, while the majority, we think, would pass the time in idleness."

Office No. 102. An Owner of a Lime Kiln says: "My hours of labor are ten per day. I don't think it will pay me to pay the same wages for less hours' work."

Office No. 66. Agricultural Implements. "It is my opinion that a diminution of the hours of labor would be injurious, both to the laborer and the public, particularly for young men from the age of eighteen to twenty-five years. The most intelligent, successful and respectful young men in my employ are those who are desirous of doing overwork; and so far as I can learn, those that do the most overwork also find the most time to read, and are the most reliable. What is most needed is, in my humble opinion, to so encourage our young men as to have them love their calling, and take pride in it. The demand then will be for overwork, instead of the diminution of labor."

Office No. 134. A Machinist says: "In some departments of our work, such as blacksmithing, riveting boilers, and some other kinds of work, a diligent and industrious man would do as much work in eight hours as he does, or ought to do, in ten or twelve. But I do not think it would be as well for him to accomplish so much work by violent effort, or by constant application, in so few hours. I have no doubt that a boiler maker, for instance, would be more cheerful, and a more healthful man, to diffuse his exertions over ten hours, than to concentrate them inside of eight. To suppose that ten hours' pay can be obtained for eight hours' work, is quite on the par with, "There shall be seven half-penny loaves sold for a penny."

Office No. 162. Another establishment says: "For adults I think that from April to October, men ought to work ten hours, and from October to April, eight hours, averaging nine. Cannot compete with larger establishments, that work eleven or twelve hours the year round."

Office No. 239. A Boot and Shoe Manufacturer says: "Think but very few men hurt themselves by working too many hours. It may be different in some factories. In this place the men in the mills work from eight to ten hours per day; boot-makers nine to ten; other workmen ten hours. Think eight hours would be sufficient for work, if all would work either with hands or head. Have found in my experience that it is not those that make the largest

pay that get ahead the best. Strikes in this place have always been disastrous to the strikers, with one or two exceptions. The nailers in this place, a few years since were out of work (through striking) for several months, and then at last had to succumb. The Crispins are thoroughly organized in this place, and seem to benefit themselves, as in times past. Carpenters and nailers and others, when out of work, would go to work boot-making as second hands, and thus work against the interests of boot-makers. This is now stopped."

Office No. 46. A Manufacturer says: "It would increase crime, suffering, wickedness and pauperism, by holding out incentives for the weak and feeble to repair to the mill because the work is easy, and get so *much time to work for themselves*, (as they term it,) and it is no uncommon thing for individuals to apply for employment, and then, for their recommendation and our encouragement, say they are not able to work out doors, and they thought to go to work in the mill where it is easier, &c., &c. Yes, I verily believe, there are a large number of operatives in our mills who have too much spare time now (but not all). I do not advocate an increase of hours; but my observation and experience favor my conclusions. I am not favorable to reducing the present hours, (11.) "

Office No. 41. A Guano Company. "Discontent, idleness, and its natural result, intemperance and immorality. Especially would this apply to the foreign element, most of whom are under the control of forces which do not encourage liberal education and general improvement. There are many persons occupying positions of a clerical character, who are obliged, by the demands of general business, to labor many hours a day. It might be a question whether or not these individuals might be unfavorably affected by a reduction of the hours of mechanical labor."

Office No. 153. "Let labor take care of itself. *Educate.* Make young men know their true position relatively with other men, and they will find a living without extreme drudging. Ignorance is the worst master."

Office No. 180. A Machinist says: "All our work is easy; no dust, and not injurious. We work ten hours in the summer, and nine in the spring and fall, and think that long enough."

Office No. 159. Iron Worker and Nail Maker. "Shortening the hours of labor would increase the cost of production and add to the price of production. About one-half the persons he employs are of temperate habits. The price of goods will not permit a reduction of hours, without a corresponding reduction in the price of labor."

Office No. 14. Hat Manufacturer. "As regards the effects of a diminution of the hours of labor, I think it must cause either a reduction of labor, or, what is the same thing, a greater cost of everything that wages buy, until the cost is again reduced, by labor-saving machinery, to the old standard. I cannot understand how a certain product can be produced at the same cost, if wages are raised, or time is shortened at the same rate of wages, without the intervention of some cause outside; and as the workingman is the buyer to the amount of seventy-five per cent. of all production, it follows that he is making all prices higher at his own expense, by working less time. I am not one who believes in low wages, or that workingmen can live in hovels and in ignorance, with no time for anything but toil, and be just as good help as though they were intelligent, and had a chance to enjoy this life. Nor do I believe that there is in any land, or ever has been, a people who, as a class, are, or ever have been in anything like the favorable circumstances in which the working people of this Commonwealth are to-day. There are laws that regulate the matter of labor and capital, wages and production, that are as fixed as the laws that govern the universe, and effects that follow causes as light follows the rising of the sun; and I believe that the ease, prosperity and comfort of the workingmen in this country is due to our labor-saving machinery, together with the judicious tariff; and to these causes must we look for shorter time for labor, at the same expense of living."

Office No. 35. A Manufacturer of Elastic Fabrics says: "It will reduce income to both company and employés, and demoralization of employés."

Office No. 185. A Manufacturer of Organs says: "We have no definite opinion."

Office No. 206. A Carriage-Wheel Maker, who employs twenty-five to thirty men, says: "I am not in favor of, neither do my men desire it."

Office No. 110. An Establishment for the Manufacture of Visers: "We have asked the opinion of the men. They say ten hours is not any too long to work, especially when they have a few hours when necessary, or if there is to be any reduction in pay."

Office No. 125. Nails and Tacks: "We think ten hours can be sustained without any damage to our mill. Most of our people work by the piece; commence work when they please, and stop when they please, as each person's work is separate. Our folks earn from \$1 to \$5 per day. Some occupy our tenements; but our policy is to induce them to provide homes of their own, and nearly all are gradually attaining that result. Ourselves and workmen think that

ten hours is fair a day's labor, and nearly all of us work that number of hours, and would do so if the mill did not run that time. Our work is healthy, and men and women will live longer, and enjoy better health, working ten hours a day in our mill, than if idle. Intoxicating liquors are prohibited in our mill, or on our premises, and are rather scarce in our locality, except under the late license law; then we were much annoyed. If we could banish the use of tobacco from our employés, it would do them (who use it) more good than any eight hour law or labor reform yet proposed."

Office No. 16. Sleighs. "Competition with others who would not reduce the hours of labor."

Office No. 210. Hardware and Shoe Tools. "I am not in favor of reduction of the hours of labor; I believe ten hours is just time to labor per day. I do not think mechanics in this age would be benefited by a reduction of hours, and I could not get a profit to pay me for my business."

Office No. 79. A Shoddy Manufacturer. "Working from forty-eight to sixty per week, with all temperate but one. I have found by experience the last twenty-two years, that the employés who have worked from ten to twelve hours for a day's work are better contented, and provided better for their families, than those who worked eight or ten hours per day, with more wages. I have also found, that those who have worked the least time for a day's work have had the more time to spend away from their families at the places of gathering, the saloon, where anything but good for their families is found. I have still further found, that by *reducing* the time for a day's work, and *increasing* the *pay*, the employés have been less faithful, ever casting a longing eye at the sun."

Office No. 81. Piano-Case Maker says: "We believe in the ten hour system, and have had it in practice for twelve years; we do not believe it would be for the interest of the employer or employés to diminish the number of hours of labor, (under ten,) unless it be universal throughout the United States. We speak of adults; of course, children should be protected from overwork by the strong arm of the law, when necessary."

Office No. 43. A Rolling Mill. "It would not be beneficial to the class of men I employ,—only about one-half temperate. The kind of help employed are good able-bodied men, without much skill, take them from outside occupations."

Office No. 28. A Rattan Manufacturer answers: "Working ten hours; a beneficial effect on the race; want of influence prevents my introducing it. Our principle is to employ none but those of temperate habits."

Office No. 62. A Manufacturer of Cartridges says: "Less production, less pay."

Office No. 100. A Rubber Thread Manufacturer says: "We do not think we could pursue the business successfully with less than ten hours a day."

Office No. 10. A Paper Manufacturer says: "It would do more hurt than good, if employed less than ten hours. Employs forty men, of whom nine-tenths are temperate."

Office No. 201. A Corset Maker, whose employes are all temperate, says: "I think if a reduction of the hours was made by law, a corresponding reduction would be made general in wages, and thus work badly both for the employed and employer. Persons disposed to study find ample time after working ten hours; those not disposed to study, and disposed to dissipation, have only the more idle hours for such dissipation."

Office No. 149. A Chair Manufacturer. "We think that the diminution of the hours of labor to less than ten per day in the summer and nine in the winter would be bad."

Office No. 61. An Axle Maker says: One-half of his men are wholly temperate, and the other half *very* temperate,—and his men all work by the hour. It would be beneficial to neither the employed or the employer, among our class of workmen. If two hours deducted from manual labor could be devoted to improvement mentally, a benefit would undoubtedly arise which would be of value to both; but in nine cases out of ten, the time would not be so spent, but rather wasted, and too often *worse* than *wasted*;—having more time to spend money, more call for more to spend.

Office No. 76. A Chair Manufacturer. "I think the employes would have more time for recreation, which as far as my observation goes, breaks down ten persons, where too much labor does one. I require but ten hours labor during the summer season, because most of my employes have a small garden or patch of land, that requires some labor often, and the men of diligent habits spend their spare hours in their gardens, and by so doing are enabled to labor in the shop six full days every week. Some of these laborers do much labor for themselves during the season, besides the work done for me at the shop. These are the men who save their wages, soon invest their earnings in a house or homestead, and become permanent residents, and make good citizens. Some others spend all their spare time before 7 o'clock in the morning and after 6 o'clock in the evening, in some out-door sports, (like ball-playing, or something else of that sort,) and thereby find opportunities to spend all their earnings and impair their health much more than any of the

men in my employ ever did by too much labor. These latter are the right kind of men to engage in strikes for larger pay or for less hours of labor. But this kind of men generally remain in my employ only till the end of the first contract, and therefore I never have any strikes among my men."

Office No. 182. A Factory Agent. "*Detrimental* to both employers and employed, and unless universally applied, *subversive* of the manufacturing interests of the country."

Office No. 15. Woollen Manufacturer says: "Would produce less work. Not favorable."

Office No. 95. A Carpenter and Builder says: "The immediate result of the diminution of the hours of labor, as far as I am concerned, would be unfavorable. If the hours were reduced to eight, I should lose two hours a day on each man, having estimated ten hours a day's work when I took my contracts. I think the result would be beneficial to the laboring men, and in the end employers would not lose. The reason I do not take the initiative in this movement, is because the men would want the same pay for eight hours as they get for ten, and I could not afford to lose the amount."

Office No. 33. A Boot and Shoe Manufacturer says: "More poverty, intemperance and crime."

Office No. 184. Another Manufacturer says: "We think ten hours a fair day's work. Should say a diminution of working hours would tend to lengthen one's life."

Office No. 36. Factory Owner says: "Not one in 500 of the class we employ, would receive any benefit, apparently. They would be as dissatisfied with six as twelve. They only work from necessity, not to save for future wants. When they get easy in circumstances, they do not work constantly, but make lost time from visiting away from home, until their necessities compel them to return to labor."

Office No. 141. Factory Owner says: "Among factory operatives in this section, they being made up mainly by people who acquired their habits in the old country, the result would be a loss of money as well as time. They would have so much more time to drink and spend their money. They would spend their time unprofitably, and the effect would be bad for the laborer and his family."

Office No. 218. A Woollen Manufacturer says: "We have no objection to ten hours work, if all in the United States adopt the same hours."

Office No. 106. A Woollen Manufacturer. "The first effect would be to correspondingly diminish the wages, making it quite

difficult in some cases for employés to pay their way. Second, in a great many cases the effect would be bad on the operative, throwing spare time upon his hands, which would be spent in lounging about public places, rum shops, stores, &c. Third, the effect of any considerable diminution of labor would tend to ruin the employer, who has now to use great exertion to come out square at the end of the year. Fourth, it would no doubt be an advantage to the employé, if he would make a good use of his spare time. A few would do so, perhaps 50 out of 300, certainly not more. The balance would not, in my opinion, be as well off. It would be very pleasant, doubtless, if we could get along without working at all. But as long as the present order of things exists, there will be poor men and women who will be obliged to work, and the majority of them will not do any more than necessity compels them to do."

Office No. 2. Woollen Manufacturer. "The effect would be to enhance the cost of goods, and lessen the value of the laborer for the time he did work. That is, generally, if laborers have three hours of idleness out of eleven, the eight hours they do work will be less energetic and efficient than if they kept steadily at work for the eleven."

Office No. 122. Woollen Manufacturer. "Not favorable. It is our opinion that at the present prices paid to operatives at piece work, were the hours reduced, many of them, including those having families, would be unable to earn a living, because at the present rate of things, manufacturers could not afford to pay the same prices for eight, nine and ten hours that they are now paying for eleven and twelve. Besides, idleness is the worst enemy of the mill laborers, a great many of whom are intemperate men and women, and any leisure time would enable them to indulge in their favorite vices, rendering them totally unfit for either weaving or spinning, where a clear eye and steady hand are needed."

Office No. 153. A Woollen Manufacturer. "Demoralizing."

Office No. 186. A Woollen Manufacturer: "Injurious, decidedly."

Office No. 113. A Woollen Manufacturer. "No benefit to our class of help. Competition from other mills in various States."

Office No. 56. A Woollen Manufacturer. "Think it would increase intemperance and induce idle habits."

Office No. 177. A Woollen Manufacturer. "Am satisfied from personal observation, a diminution of the hours of labor stimulates bad habits; bad associations are formed, and result in the ruin of thousands. The effect upon boys, say between the ages of 12 and 20 years, to shorten a day's labor less than eleven hours, has always

been unfortunate. They will, nine times out of ten, spend their spare time in *places* of dissipation, if not to participate in the immediate *acts* of dissipation. They listen, see, and will soon copy the worst features of the places, and the result is arrests and the payment of fines, and frequently commitment to the house of correction. *It was not so* in times when we run twelve and a half to thirteen hours a day. The effect upon adults with fixed habits, is not so bad. If they have established moral character, they will generally escape, but if they have ever had bad habits, they are inclined to fall away and bring disgrace upon themselves and families."

Office No. 205. A Woollen Manufacturer. "A general reduction of wages and increased cost of every manufactured article to the consumer. This reduction of labor would not tend to make a better class of labor than at present."

Office No. 182. A Woollen Manufacturer. "My opinion is that a reduction of the hours of labor would produce a corresponding reduction in pay."

Office No. 45. A Woollen Manufacturer. "Think it would be better all round if the help would attend faithfully to their work ten hours a day. Would rather have ten hours than eleven. I have been figuring up and find my help has not averaged nine and one-half hours per day, by the quantity of work done."

Office No. 69. Cotton Manufacturer. "Bad for all concerned. Wages would necessarily be reduced to correspond to the hours of labor."

Office No. 147. Cotton Manufacturer. "To cotton-yarn and thread manufacturers, without a higher protective tariff, a corresponding reduction of wages or bankruptcy."

Office No. 130. Cotton Manufacturer. "Favorably on some, unfavorably on others; on the whole, favorably on the employés."

Office No. 169. Cotton Manufacturer. "It is difficult to say what would be the effect of a diminution of the hours of labor. If we assume that eleven hours a day in a mill are too many hours for any one to work in-doors, then a diminution of one hour would be favorable. A mill, however, is a much healthier place as to purity of air, than most school-houses. What is said with regard to the hours for improvement, mentally, of operatives, who should work but ten or but eight hours a day, I have not much faith in. My observation for over thirty years confirms me in the opinion, that the most industrious operatives and mechanics generally improve themselves mentally the most. The spare hour, or the spare two hours, deducted from the present day's labor are rarely spent, I

imagine, in study of any kind. But this, I grant, is no reason for a day's labor being ten, eleven or twelve hours a day, if the health of those engaged in that labor is injured thereby. With regard to the effect of the reduction to ten hours a day on wages of mill labor, it would not be very material, I think. Weavers and operatives working by the piece, such as mule spinners, dresser-tenders, beamers and reelers, would, by closer attention, make up for half the time at least. Production, therefore, would fall off not more than five per cent., perhaps, which difference would have to be borne in justice, it is probable, by employer and employed."

Office No. 58. Cotton Manufacturer. "I would simply say that I think it would be decidedly detrimental both to the employer and the employed. Any one who has had occasion to employ carpenters, masons and farming help would, I have no doubt, assert the same. And if it will apply to that class of employés, it will certainly apply to manufacturers, who employ to tend machinery, for although it is argued that a man can do as much work in ten hours as in eleven, I never could be convinced that a machine running at its maximum speed could make as many revolutions in ten hours as in eleven. While I believe in the State taking proper care of its children, I do think the tendency at present is too strong in one direction. If any of the questions are not fully enough answered, please let me know, as I am desirous that your Bureau should get all the information possible, that the matter may be brought before the people in its true standing."

Office No. 92. Cotton Manufacturer. "We do not believe it would conduce to the general health and welfare of the operatives. The boys might possibly take more exercise in the open air to their benefit when the weather was fine, and the reverse when foul."

Office No. 199. Cotton Manufacturer. "It would be an injury to both."

Office No. 88. Cotton Manufacturer. "The effect of the diminution of the hours of labor would be to reduce wages, and, in our opinion, increase dissipation."

Office No. 150. Cotton Manufacturer. "In our case, diminution of the hours of labor would not be followed by good results."

Office No. 20. Cotton Manufacturer. "From the knowledge I now have, I think it would increase the price of goods in relation to wages."

Office No. 78. Cotton Manufacturer. "Should consider the effect of a reduction of the hours of labor, to be ultimately a reduction of the compensation of employés—a greater tendency on the part of many of them to visit the grog-shops, or other objec-

tionable places, besides giving them more time and greater facilities for spending their wages."

REMARKS.

The noteworthy fulness of the replies to this query, and attendant comments upon the subject of the hours of labor, indicate the deep interest the question has excited. Our inquiry was not upon reduction to a specified number of hours, but upon what would be the influence of a reduction of the hours of labor in the special business of each party addressed.

Now, it is to be noticed that those employers who require the *greatest number of hours, are the most opposed to any reduction* whatever. They have the belief that spare time would be devoted to bad, and not to good influences; and this they lay down as a *general* rule. That is, they declare that employes now of temperate habits and good members of society, giving what spare hours they have to commendable purposes, would, under more time that might be so given, become demoralized and fall away from goodness. This argument is the old argument against increased education of the working classes, and all increased concessions to them, and is founded on the fallacy that opportunity for increased intellectual elevation, can only benefit a class already educated, and will have a bad influence upon those who have never had fair opportunity of knowing what such elevation is. It is to leave old things to be old—and to nullify all advance of the race. The other objections are, less production, increased cost, and consequent diminution of wages; though our tables show that those who work the greatest number of hours, do not earn the greatest amount of wages.

HEALTH INFLUENCE.

74. Does your special business act favorably or unfavorably upon the general health of your employes?

75. If it acts unfavorably, state in what respect, to what extent, and what is the nature of the special ill-health, or disease, it causes.

76. What is the greatest, and what is the least length of time, that an employe of your own has been known to withstand such unfavorable influence without relinquishing work in consequence thereof?

REMARKS.

Very limited replies have been given to these questions. The general inference to be derived from what answers we have

received is, that all employments, excepting painting and printing, are conducive to health.

TEMPERANCE.

77. What proportion of your employés are persons of wholly temperate habits, and what proportion are not so ?

Office No. 231. A Factory Agent. "Will not employ a person of intemperate habits, if we know it. He is discharged as soon as we find it out; and it is known far and near, among help, that there is no chance for that class of help with us."

Office No. 177. A Woollen Mill. "*Ninety-five* per cent. are wholly and totally temperate. We have only one man that can be called intemperate."

Office No. 66. A Manufacturer of Agricultural Implements. "All!—total abstinent from intoxicating liquors and tobacco."

Office No. 183. Another Employer. "Out of forty persons in my employ, I have never learned of but three of them drinking to excess; and these three, never to an extent to hinder them from working—not for a single day."

Office No. 58. A Cotton Factory Employer. "Don't know what is meant by '*wholly temperate habits*,' but I get rid of help as soon as possible, that are in the habit of getting intoxicated."

Office No. 61. An Axle Manufacturer. "One-half *wholly* temperate; the other half, *very* temperate."

Office No. 2. A Woollen Manufacturer. "Can't tell that—generally very temperate; do not intend to have any others. Instances of drunken broils are not often."

Office No. 169. A Cotton Factory Agent. "I should say *ninety-five* per cent. are temperate—not total abstinent. Very intemperate, we do not employ."

Office No. 207. An Employer. "Generally temperate; seldom a day's labor lost by intemperance,—most remarkable in so large a number foreign born, and parentage!"

Office No. 129. "One-third use liquor occasionally; but none to excess; two-thirds do not use it at all."

Office No. 57. "A very large proportion—most of them, indeed, would be called temperate; unless the drinking of lager beer, of which the Germans are so fond, is set down as intemperance."

REMARKS.

The conclusion derived from the replies to this inquiry is, that the greater part of all working people are temperate. For statistics, see Tables 3 and 4.

PLACE OF DINING.

78. What proportion of your employés do *not* return to their homes to dine, but bring their dinners with them, and dine on your premises?

79. If such cases occur with you, do you provide a room wherein they may dine?

REMARKS.

Very slightly answered. General observation will, however, show that a very large number of persons do not return to their homes to dine, and that the food they carry from home is not of a nutritive kind. Almost all unskilled laborers belong to what is usually known as the tinpail brigade, and they dine at some convenient spot near their work. In fact, when work is remote from home, all working people do the same.

INFLUENCE OF FASHION.

80. What effect have *changes of fashion* had upon your special business within the past ten years?

REMARKS.

The influence of fashion has been injurious in the manufacturing of straw bonnets and hats, and favorable in the carriage and boot and shoe business. Nothing, however, of importance has been elicited.

REGULATIONS.

81. Send copies of all your rules and regulations.

REMARKS.

This request was very fully complied with. They are so numerous that a full examination, and conclusions therefrom, must be reserved. Generally their bearing is wholly upon the employés.

GENERAL REMARKS BY EMPLOYERS.

OFFICE No. 50, BLANK No. 2.

A Woollen Manufacturer, in reply to question No. 5, says: "The term *competence* is uncertain with us; but we have a man in our employ who is worth from \$3,000 to \$4,000, all of his own earnings, and he never had above \$1.50 per day, and that for not more than two years. He is about 42 years of age."

In reply to questions 63 to 69, he says: "We almost always have some hands learning in different departments. The length of time, to become expert, will depend on ingenuity and application. A weaver is able to take a loom after three or four months, but will require some assistance;—of course some will never be able to retain a loom. A weaver, learning, draws no pay; never have more than two at once. To learn to spin, we require a man to work six months. He assists in clearing cards, and has the pay of a card tender—about \$1 per day.

"Instruction is given, in some instances;—spinning, for instance, by a hand who works by the day; and of course, any loss is ours. Those who learn to weave, make their own arrangements; and the expert obtains some advantage from an occasional week's work from the learner.

"We prefer those who have grown up with us, (as overseers;) and when we have occasion for a new overseer, we take one from our workmen, if we can. Our overseer of looms came here as card feeder, and has worked up to his present position. We now have those in our employ who have been here fifteen years. Our help does not become entirely a new set in ten years.

"Cannot tell (the average time a set of machinery will last). We have cards that have been in use more than 30 years; looms and jacks 17 years. The old machinery does as much work, and as good as the new."

In answer to question 70, he says: "We can give no satisfactory answer to this question, as we have never had one of our hands break down, in any branch. One hand, a dyer, has recently left our employ, at the age of about 74 years;—had been in our employ

23 years constantly, with all the variations of hours of labor during that time. As to vacations, we almost always have a week or more stoppage in the summer time, for repairing some part of our works."

REMARKS.—"We do not conceive that it will be of any particular advantage to the laborer or disadvantage to the manufacturer, to shorten the hours of labor, if the change be general. If an attempt shall be made in one section to run short-hours, or against all others running long-hours, we can see no other way but the closing up of the short-hour section. A loom, running 90 picks per minute, is just as good for one hour as another, so far as we know; and the twelfth hour is *all the same* to it, as the first. If the hours of labor should be fixed at eight hours per day, the tendency would be to make two days in one when business is fair, and stop entirely when dull, unless (and we have never heard any suggestion of this kind,) the law should provide that no one shall work more than eight hours in one day.

"There is the heating up of mills in winter, which would, comparatively, increase the expense of running short-hours.

"That a man on piece work, working short-hours, might do more *per hour*, than in long-hours, we see no great reason to doubt; for his living might depend upon it, and he would be likely to allow his machine to be idle the smallest portion of time possible; but with the day laborer, when pay was for the day, there would be no such inducement, his pay being for the day's work, without regard to the amount of work.

"In regard to the injury to health, in consequence of *long-hours*, we think more is said than truth will justify,—certainly than it will in our experience. We personally commenced work in the mills at 9 years of age, and are now upwards of 50 years of age, and we can call to mind no case of injury from the length of the hours of labor. Please understand, that we do not say that no one has been injured, but that such a case has not come within our experience or knowledge. We have inquired of men in our employ, who have been from 36 to 45 years engaged in different woollen mills, who can call to mind no instance of the breaking down of the health of persons thus employed in woollen mills.

"We will state one fact that occurred a few years since: When we reduced the hours of labor three hours per week, all our piece hands complained of the reduction, as taking so much from their wages.

"On the whole, from our experience, and from the experience of those with whom we have consulted, we do not believe the length of hours now generally established in the woollen mills in this

vicinity, is injurious to men, women and such children as are employed in woollen mills."

Means of escape in case of fire.—"Our basement and first story have each three outside doors, which will afford sufficient means of escape. There are 11 hands employed in the basement, and 9 in the first story. There are 26 hands employed in the second story. From this story escape may be had by a flight of stairs, and through a window on to a roof connecting with another building, and therefrom by a fixed ladder. From the attic, where from 4 to 6 men are employed, escape, in case the stairs were on fire, would be by means of a window to a fixed ladder."

"A few weeks since, I made a verbal statement to you in regard to the difference in the number of laborers required to do a given amount of work, and also in the amount of wages of the employés, caused by improvement in woollen machinery. This statement you asked me to write out, suggesting that, it might be of use to you in the discharge of your duties.

"Permit me first, to speak of the improvements that have caused this difference.

"Somewhere between 1824 and 1830, the improvement in woollen carding by John Goulding, began to be used by manufacturers; and after 1830, probably none, or but very few sets of cards, were started on the old plan of manufacturing.

"The old plan of manufacturing, as you are aware, required children of from 8 to 12 years of age, for 'piecing rolls,' as it was called, and a man for a roper, intermediate between the carding and spinning machines, the latter being called a journeyman.

"The Goulding improvement, by making the roping directly from the carding machine, threw out all the intermediate laborers; and besides, enabled the spinner to manage an increased number of spindles, the highest *general* number of spindles for one man formerly being 120. This has been increased to a general number of from 200 to 260 spindles; and by improvements in spinning machinery, now in the course of being introduced, one man is competent to manage from 300 to 600 spindles. I had not contemplated this last improvement, in my statement.

"The width of the carding machines, under the old plan, was more generally 24 inches, with some 26 inches, and a very few, so far as my knowledge extends, 28 inches.

"Since the improvements, the cards have increased in width, to 40 inches generally; within the past few years, perhaps the more general width has been 48 inches.

“The number of revolutions of the main cylinder of the carding machine formerly, was about 85 per minute; now it is 100 per minute. The satinet loom formerly made about 85 picks per minute, now I think about 110. This increase in speed has been made by the general improvements in machinery, and experience in manufacturing.

“The wages of children, per day, under the old system, was 33½ cents; and the wages of spinners and ropers was \$20 per month, without board. The wages of spinners continued at about the same rate, till quite recently, say 1860, since which time, they have generally been paid by the run, earning about \$1.67 per day. Weavers earned, under the old system, \$3 per week, girls being always employed for that purpose. They now earn, on an average, \$1.25 per day.

“It formerly required 10 looms per set, of from 24 to 26 inch cards; now 10 looms is fully sufficient for a set of 40 inch cards.

“The number of employés, under the old system, for a 24 to 26 inch set of cards (not including the carders, which are the same now as then, nor the finishers and dyers, of which I have taken no account,) was 3 piecers, 1 roper, 2 spinners and 5 weavers.

“A modern 40 inch set of cards would require 1½ spinners (one will do the work generally,) and 5 weavers.

“The account, then, of a modern four-set mill of 40 inch cards, being equivalent to a little more than 6 sets of 26 inch cards, saying nothing of the increase of speed, when compared with the latter, will stand thus:—

A six set mill of 26 inch cards requires,—

6 Ropers at \$20 per month,	. . .	\$120 per month.
18 Pickers at 2s. per day,	. . .	156 “
12 Spinners at \$20 per month,	. . .	240 “
30 Weavers at 3s. per day,	. . .	410 “
<hr/>		
66 employed.	Total wages,	\$926 “

A four set mill of 40 inch cards requires,—

6 Spinners at 10s. per day,	. . .	\$260 per month.
20 Weavers at \$125 per day,	. . .	655 “
<hr/>		
26 employed.	Total wages,	\$915 “

Six set mill, 66 hands; wages	. . . . .	\$926 00
Four “ 26 “ “	. . . . .	915 00
<hr/>		
Difference, 40		\$11 00

OFFICE No. 158. BLANK No. 2.

A Cigar Maker, in answer to question No. 5, says: "It depends upon what you call a competence. If \$10,000 is a competence, then I know of one who has it from his earnings as a day laborer. But I know fifty more, not one of whom ever reached that sum."

In answer to questions No. 17 to 24, he says: "We had a strike against the women in the cigar shop, which lasted about a week, and then part of them went to work, and the rest went away. The strike was occasioned by the men who belonged to the cigar makers' union attempting to drive the women out of the shop. But I drove them out, and kept the women and such of the men as were willing to go to work. There was a loss of time of about one week, amounting to over \$100; and it prevented the making of some 10 or 12,000 cigars. I have discharged only one man, in 22 years, for getting up a strike; that was last month. He and one other left, the rest continued, and the vacant places were filled immediately."

In answer to question 53, he says: "I never had a reduction of wages in my shop, but a continued increase for over 22 years."

In answer to question 59, he says: "There are no associations for intellectual improvement, except the common schools; but by common acceptance there are for moral improvements, there being in the place, Baptist, Orthodox, and Unitarian meetings every Sunday, and praying meetings during the week, which result in jealousy and a struggle to live and carry out the special dogmas of each society; and which, to me, are carried on in a manner not very moral, or resulting in any general moral good, but serve to keep alive envy, superstition, and ignorance of the truth, as it is both in relation to science and the knowledge of ourselves, scientifically reaching after those things which no man living knows, or ever can know while he lives."

In answer to questions 61, 62, he says: "There is a library containing between four and five hundred volumes,—works of all the arts and sciences, and any quantity of theology, from Adam to Swedenborg, Joe Smith, and the Latter Day Saints."

In answer to question 70, he says: "I never had men work in my shop over 10 hours for a day, for the last 22 years, and I never knew but very few that ever worked that. I have employed two men, mentioned above, fifteen years, and I do not think they ever worked over three weeks in a month during the time; and I do not know but what they are just as well, mentally and physically, to-day as they were in 1854. They all work by the piece."

In reply to question 77, he says: "About half and half imbibe

generally. About one quarter get drunk, one quarter drink moderately, one quarter drink occasionally, and one quarter drink nothing intoxicating."

REMARKS.—"In my opinion a diminution of the hours of labor will never take place; but I suppose you mean to ask, 'What effect will a statute have, making eight hours a day's work?'

"In reply to that question, I would give as my opinion that the result would be to make the matter worse, because it would make more work for the non-producers, viz., lawyers. Now in order to benefit community, as a whole, we wish to raise them up in intellectual greatness; and in order to do that, they must have time to read, study and reflect; and in order to get that time, it requires the means to live, without having to labor more than 8 or 10 hours per day.

"Now how can this be brought about? I answer, by making more actual producers, and fewer non-producers. We have too many laws, and too many interpretations of them; and if half of the laws were swept off the statute books, and half of the lawyers were sent to Minnesota to raise wheat, and all the fanatical preachers of extreme measures were sent out West to build houses to live in, and the prohibition fanatics were sent out there to dig the wells, and help make the North Pacific Railroad, it would be far better for the State of Massachusetts, and the public generally, than the enactment of any sumptuary laws, or eight-hour laws.

"But to return to the point under consideration. A law to be of general use, should be of general application. Now a law making eight hours a day's work, could not apply to one-half of the labor performed in this Commonwealth. Cigar makers, nail and tack makers, work by the thousand; and shoemakers by the case, and so on. Now these branches cannot be affected by any law with regard to the hours of labor. Domestic, in all the families in Massachusetts, cannot work under any eight-hour law, for their work is at various times both in the day and evening, with an hour of leisure, perhaps, sometimes in the afternoon before tea, or in the evening; and they cannot, nor do they wish to have a certain number of hours fixed for a day's labor; for some days they work more hours and some less, but their time is all the same to their employer.

"No farmer in the State would be satisfied with eight hours fixed for a day's labor; for in bad weather he does but little, and when the weather is good he wants to work more, or as the old saying is, he wants 'to make hay while the sun shines,' and when a shower comes lay by. It would make work for a book-keeper at every farm

of any size to keep the time, and watch the men, which is making employment for non-producers, and that is what we wish to avoid.

“If a law was on the statute books of Massachusetts, making eight hours a day’s work, it would be a twin law to the one passed last winter, in relation to the sale of intoxicating liquors; and I think it would be executed as much; and in order to do that, there would have to be a State Constable force, or some other constituted legal force to carry it out.

“Now it is a question whether any law is of any good to the community unless it is supported and upheld by the majority of the people; if it is not, as is the case with the prohibitory law, then it should not be made. It only makes room for offices, which have to be filled by non-producers, and that class we wish to get rid of. It prolongs the sessions of the general court, discussing that which belongs only to the personal liberty of every man and woman in the State, and costs thousands of dollars, which must be paid by the actual producers to those who make themselves non-producers longer than they have any just claims upon their constituents to do.

“My opinion is, that any law making eight hours a day’s work is not a good law, for reasons given above; and furthermore, because I think the making of laws which are inapplicable to the case which they wish to reach, had better not be made, for laws which do exist and are not respected, or executed only partially, are worse than no law, and have a bad effect on the community in that they beget a disrespect for all law. Now believing, as I do, that an eight-hour law for a day’s work would be both impracticable and inapplicable to the end intended, and if passed, could never be executed, and cost to discuss some ten or fifteen thousand dollars, paid to non-producers for talk, my opinion is, the effect would be to lose money to the State, to pay the third house of representatives as well as both branches of the legislature of 1870, from which no possible good would come.

“If this was not a free Commonwealth, in all essentials, as to labor,—if slavery in any form existed, except for crimes committed, and any one was deprived of their liberty without a due process of law, then the question might properly call for attention in regard to the hours of labor for a day’s work. But it is not within the power of any man in this Commonwealth to make a man work any more hours than he wishes any or every day; but he is left perfectly free to employ him eight, ten, twelve, or any number of hours that they may agree upon; and I cannot see why it would not be an infringement upon the law of contracts, if a law was passed to make eight hours a day’s work against a special contract between parties; and

if a special law cannot do away with the ancient usages of contracts, then an eight-hour law would be of no practical use; but as I said before, would make more non-producing work, and lessen the amount of real production, and would be detrimental to the best interests of the State."

OFFICE No. 228, BLANK No. 2.

A Manufacturer of Picture Frames remarks: "I have looked over your printed blank very carefully, but find so little in it that is strictly applicable to myself that I have concluded to give you in return a brief statement of the general characteristics of my particular trade.

"I am by trade a gilder. I served an apprenticeship of four and one-half years; and have worked at the trade for the last sixteen years as a journeyman, foreman, and, at the present time, as employer.

"It is customary, in our trade, to take apprentices at about the age of sixteen, and keep them until they are twenty-one. I think there are but few trades in which boys are better treated, or have more time, than in ours; and their pay, in proportion to wages paid to journeymen, will compare favorably with most other trades; the average wages paid apprentices is about \$3 per week the first year, and increased, until the last year reaches \$6 or \$7 per week.

"The wages paid journeymen at the present time is thirty cents per hour. The rate of wages has increased from eighteen to thirty cents per hour since I finished my time as apprentice, but the cost of living has increased so much, that I do not consider thirty cents any better now, if as good, as eighteen cents ten years ago.

"Considering the character of our business, and the fact that it only goes to supply the luxuries instead of the necessities of life, I have ever been of the opinion that it ought to yield large returns to the employer and the employé. This it fails to do; and the wages paid to labor in it are, and always have been, too little. This, in my opinion, is owing to competition, which, though it may sometimes be the 'life of trade,' is not always the prompter of honesty and justice; and a vicious public morality, constantly haggles about paying fair remunerative prices. With proper time and space this point may be elaborated considerably, but I shall be obliged to let it pass.

"A single man, who is industrious and prudent, might possibly succeed in laying by enough of his wages to enable him, after a time, to purchase a house, or to start in business for himself; but I do not believe it possible for a man with a family to support, to lay

by one single dollar of his earnings, without depriving his family of some of the actual necessities of life. *A homestead for him in the present condition of things is out of the question.*

“As to the character of the trade, like most other trades, it contains a mixture of good and bad elements. There are men in it who are sober, industrious and intelligent, and there are many others who are directly the reverse.

“As men work by the hour, they have it in their power to work as many or few hours as they choose, subject, of course, to the condition in which the trade may happen to be. There is an advantage in the hour system: a man is not obliged to be at his work at a fixed time in the morning, nor to work until a certain time at night; neither is he limited to a certain time for dinner, as in the day system. These things he is able to regulate for himself, and that gives him a degree of independence. By common custom, however, ten hours is considered a day's work. Of course, the more hours a man works the more will he earn, and this induces some to work all the hours they possibly can, while others only work a certain number of hours, preferring the time rather than the money; *and I have noticed that those, with some exceptions, perhaps, who work the greatest number of hours, are the most given to dissipation, and the others are the most intelligent, and a better class.* This illustrates what seems to be a general law pervading the whole social system,—that excessive toil results in evil, not only to the toiler, but to society itself. I argue, therefore, to lessen the hours of toil will be to elevate men, make better citizens, and render government more permanent and secure. If legislators understood this *truism* as they ought to, there would be no need of asking justice to labor, but they would consider it to be their first duty to regulate the system of labor—it being the basis of all things—in accordance with this truth. The enactment of wise laws would set in motion forces that would operate to establish justice where now injustice prevails.”

OFFICE No. 229, BLANK 2.

A Boot and Shoe Manufacturer testifies that it is “very difficult to answer the blanks 1 and 2, as the boot and shoe business is passing through a transition. The old method of individual workmen taking a case and finishing it, having been replaced by the system of *teams*, under which method a man takes a case of boots and employs other workmen, thereby rendering it impossible for us to give the number of men employed on our work. Our factory is 65 feet long by 30 feet wide, and three stories high, with attics. We have

cutting, fitting, dressing, bottoming and finishing departments, in which we employ nine men, two boys and seven girls. In the summer we have five or six boot-crimpers additional. There is a great difference as regards the number of months in which workmen are employed, owing to the locality and kinds of work, such as making men's thick boots, as in Milford, or ladies' boots, as in Lynn. It seems impossible to so adjust the work as to avoid three or four months of idleness; there is, consequently, a large number of tramps floating about constantly from one place to another. Our piece-workers work from eight to ten hours per day; think a diminution of hours would result in less production; its other effects would depend on the character of the men.

OFFICE No. 230, BLANK No. 2.

An Iron and Steel Manufacturing Company, in reply to question No. 24, says: "We have never known of our operatives being engaged in any labor movement. We should never employ men belonging to societies that attempt to regulate pay, or hours indiscriminately, if we knew it."

In answer to questions 48 and 49, "Have accidents occurred in your establishment during five years past, and from what cause, &c.?" he says: "Slight, under the present administration. They are generally caused by carelessness or inattention. The only accidents I remember were the loss of portions of a finger. In one instance, a man caught in the gearing of a planer; in another, a finger was broken on a grindstone. A former proprietor lost a limb, and subsequently his life, by attempting to kick a belt from a pulley. We have always been willing to contribute to invalid or injured operators."

In answer to question 52, he says: "We stop the wages of the employés, but not of the officers, as the latter would be quite as much engaged as without the suspension."

REMARKS.—"I regret that my limited experience prevents me from furnishing more valuable statistics. The questions of interest to the laboring classes are important, as affecting the employer and employés. I have for five years past, been president of the corporation with which I am now connected, but only for a few months have I taken immediate superintendence, and come intimately in contact with the operatives. This short time has enabled me to see faults in the system of American industry which I am trying more fully to investigate. Laws regulating the hours of labor will invariably fail to accomplish the hopes of their friends, and must work to the disadvantage of the laborer, without affecting (unless

it be advantageously,) the employer. If producers could be confined to the actual requirements of consumption, and this in all parts of the world, something might be accomplished. But the law of supply and demand must regulate here, as well as in every department of life. If a certain class of business proves unusually remunerative, capital seeks it, until the profit is not only reduced, but temporarily destroyed. So with labor: if one branch or trade finds quick employment, at high wages, it is soon more than filled by new comers. If labor demands certain hours, employés demand piece work, or pay by the hour. If a certain class of mechanics be scarce, they can temporarily demand their own terms; but the scarcity is soon supplied by importation, or new learners, and the department is likely to be more than filled, and prices reduced below the starting point.

“One of the most injurious elements to the prejudice of the good of mechanics, is the formation of societies, attempting to force the payment of a certain rate of wages to all of a trade. There is as much difference in the value of workmen, as there is in the ability of the merchant, or amongst professional men; and industrious merit always finds its place, and is justly appreciated. I always endeavor to pay good men more than they are worth, or could obtain elsewhere, as my interest points this out as sound policy. I want to produce the best goods in my line that can be made. To do this, there must be an interest felt by my men that will not allow them to suspend vigilance for a moment. I endeavor to create this by large pay, and the certainty of dismissal for the repetition of carelessness. My men know they cannot do as well elsewhere, and do not desire to leave. I do not mean to incite fear of dismissal, but try to stimulate to the development of the best talents.

“In my opinion, there is one serious want in our laws, to induce or force boys to become thorough mechanics. I do not suggest a remedy, but desire to call attention to the fact, and show why it is difficult to find thoroughly competent American mechanics.

“It seems to me that parents of the poorer classes are more anxious, in many instances, to get the highest earnings for their children, than to promote their future welfare. A boy is sent to a factory for what he can earn,—with us about forty cents per day. At first, he may be placed at a lathe. He is worth nothing, to begin with, but is a loss to his employer, as he injures the tools, and destroys property. In the course of time he is able to do one kind of work, and he begins to return to his employer the loss occasioned at first. Here steps in the parent, and demands increase

of pay. Of course his development stops here, and he must continue at this point, as the employer cannot afford to be at the whole expense of teaching the boy a trade. Instead of being a machinist, he is in part only a machinist. Some means should be devised by which a boy should be bound for a certain time, and in consideration of this, the employer should be compelled to furnish the means for the acquirement of every branch of the trade engaged in."

OFFICE No. 64, BLANK No. 2.

A Coöperator's Iron Moulding Association remarks: "All our employés, with but five exceptions, are owners. Ten shares are the greatest number owned by any one, and one share the least. Ten shares are owned by the agent, seven by the foreman, and all the rest are owned by the operatives, except about \$2,000. The foreman has charge of all the works. Fifteen owners work in the moulding department, three work in the stove-mounting department, one is engineer, and one a carpenter. The value of each share is \$100. Market value, \$100. We have been in operation only about two years, and, from present appearances, shall make from twelve to fifteen per cent. this year."

OFFICE No. 131, BLANK No. 2.

A Woollen Manufacturer says: "We find it very difficult to comply with the law in regard to sending children to school for several reasons:—

"1st. We have considerable Canadian-French help, and many families that come to the States, do so with the intention of remaining only a few years at most, and then returning to their homes in Canada, and they regard it as time thrown away to send their children to school, as they (many of them) do not understand our language, and do not want to learn it; as they will not use it when they return to Canada. Many of these will leave, and go to Rhode Island or Connecticut if compelled to attend school, and in order to supply their places we are obliged to substitute others of the same stamp.

"2d. We occasionally have families that are obliged to work in order to support themselves.

"3d. Many of the parents do not feel the interest they ought to in having their children obtain an education. We have had some leave and go to Connecticut and Rhode Island, that have been to school during the year they were here; and had they remained, the number that have not attended schools would be materially less. We endeavor to have all attend school that the law requires to go,

and if others will go, we never object to their taking the time to do so, but encourage them in availing themselves of the provisions so bountifully provided in the Old Bay State."

OFFICE No. 114, BLANK No. 2.

A Manufacturer of Straw Goods says: "The straw business is divided into two classes—those who work in the shop, and those who work at home. Our hats are sowed by women out of the shop, but we bleach and finish them in the shop; and the report that is given, applies only to the help employed inside.

"The past year I employed 600 sewers, who have worked about six months in the year, commencing December 1st. These women, in nearly every instance, live at home, and while but few depend upon sewing straw for a living, yet almost most all sew to get money to buy their clothing, &c. They earn, on an average, \$2.25 per week beside doing their family work—the highest \$6, the lowest 90 cents. I suppose in some families children help their mothers about sewing, but we give out no work to children.

"We employ three men with teams, who go to the sewers once a week, and give them work and pay them for it. Our rule is for sewers to give one week's notice, but we do not strictly enforce it, but are governed by circumstances. We pay money along through the season, (from the first of December to the first of June being the the season,) as the sewers want it, but do not settle till the first of June, unless the sewer desires to settle before, or stops work from any cause. This method suits the sewers, for as a general rule, they want their money all together, so that they can spend it to better advantage.

"In addition to this, we have usually had from four to six weeks' work in the fall, for about one-half of our sewers, giving the work to those who needed it most, as far as known."

OFFICE No. 9, BLANK No. 2.

The President of the Cigar Makers' Coöperative Association, in reply to question No. 1, says: "The agent, foreman, (treasurer,) and nine others, each own one of the eleven shares, which constitute the whole business. The capital stock is \$11,000, and each share is \$1,000. Each member owns just one share. (See Remarks.)

In answer to Nos. 3 and 4, he says: "Agent for sale of manufactured stock, foreman and treasurer, and nine workmen, are making cigars, piece work, the same as other journeymen. The par value of each share, November 1, 1869, was \$200; market value same date about \$900. December 1, 1868, we were organized; but one year our

profits were \$8,447.13; December 8th, 1869, there was a dividend of three hundred and twenty five per cent. on the par value of each share (\$650) to each of the eleven shareholders."

REMARKS.—"This association was organized December 1, 1868, with eleven shares of the value of two hundred dollars each. After running one year the profits have enabled us to place aside \$660 as a sinking fund, and to raise the cash value of the shares to \$1,000 each; but in order to accomplish this increase, each member has added to the original capital, the annual profits, and \$150 of his wages. For the first six weeks we drew but 60 per cent. of our wages. From that time to December 1, 1869, we drew 80 per cent. of our wages. We pay ourselves full wages now. The officers are a president, treasurer, and three managers, who with the first two constitute the full board. We have also a sworn clerk. The president receives no salary. The treasurer is also foreman, and is paid one salary for both offices, viz. \$20 per week. The rest of the officers receive no salary; but any member, doing any work or duty for the association, whereby he will lose any time from his labor as piece worker, is paid at the same rates as the foreman and treasurer are. Shareholders, as employés, have no advantage over non-shareholders, and are alike subject to discharge for negligence, or purposely producing inferior work.

"The board of managers audit the books of the association weekly; and monthly report the business transactions to the shareholders, at a meeting for that purpose. Six thorough inventories are taken during each year, and are read to the shareholders at the time. I see no reason why this association should not be prosperous. Its members are industrious and capitalists; and other men in larger business, appreciating this fact, and having apparently a desire to encourage in a limited extent, the working of our labor problem, have rendered us not a little moral and pecuniary aid. Of course we have had opposition; but only from that class of laborers who are not worthy to stand in the rear rank of the friends of labor, and from a class of moneyed men respected by none, mistrusted even by themselves, partaking but little of even that false respect with which money surrounds its possessors."

OFFICE No. 30, BLANK No. 2.

A Carriage Manufacturer, in reply to question No. 5, says: "Several mechanics in my employ, have, within ten years, earned enough, besides what was sufficient to defray home and family expenses, to retire on; but seldom has any one saved over from one to two thousand dollars. Some few have done this."

In reply to questions 25-27, he says: "In such cases, I try to live up to what I call Christian graces, and find employment for such as leave; and often have taken them back. Having helped to make some of the laws, I try not to violate them, and employ no children."

In reply to questions 63-65, he says: "In the carriage business generally, in this vicinity, young men from 17 to 20 years of age, who go to learn any one of the several branches of the business, viz.: painting, trimming, blacksmithing, body-making, &c., receive from \$3 to \$4 per week; and in six months, \$1 per day; and in one year, \$9 per week; and in, say two years, from \$2 to \$3 per day.

In reply to questions 68 to 70, he says: "I should make two classes under this head. First-class mechanics are far more apt to remain a term of years, than second-class mechanics. I should term the second class, 'promiscuous fluctuators.' Mechanics who work at carriage business, seldom labor over ten hours per day. The business is healthy, and a man with temperate habits, can work at the business for a term of years without injury. The painting is unhealthy in this, as in all painting establishments.

In answer to the question, "What proportion of your employés are persons of wholly temperate habits?" &c., he says: "None; some are intemperate by use of liquor, some in eating, some in clothing, some in one way, some in another; all are more or less intemperate. None are blessed with perfection. My men are generally upright and good citizens."

In reply to question No. 80, he says: "All the effect I am aware of is, that the beautiful carriages turned out now, are a vast improvement on the ancient '*one horse shay* (chaise,') we read about; showing the march of improvement with the American people.

REMARKS.—"There are, in ——— and ———, some 35 carriage manufactories, turning out, in my opinion, from 5,000 to 6,000 carriages annually; varying in price from \$100 to \$500 each; employing, I should judge, 600 hands. Of these 600, I think 75 earn \$5 per day; and the remainder from \$2 to \$3.50 per day. Within ten years, the business has more than doubled. Fourteen years ago, I commenced at ——— Mills, the manufacture of cheap open wagons, building one in two weeks. I now turn out three every day, of nice carriages, of almost every variety. Surrounding, and close by me, within the limits of the village, fifteen manufactories have sprung up; and all are prospering.

"Perhaps it may not be out of place to quote a few words from the press. 'By invitation of Mr. ———, we had the pleasure of a thorough inspection of his extensive establishment. Mr. ——— in-

forms us that, in the location and construction of his factory, he was led to consult the interest of his workmen, believing that high and well lighted rooms, with good ventilation, and where the sun could send its cheering rays into each department, would give health and contentment, and make the relation of the laborer and employer what it should be—one of mutual interest, he has provided his hands with all the comforts possible in the construction of each work-shop.'

"I run a square box (say 12 inches square,) from the floor above the varnish room, having it cut through, so as to let the unhealthy odor escape from the top of the building, by means of one of Emerson's patent ventilators. I also have the same kind of a box running from the blacksmith shop, which takes all the gas immediately from the room. In all the varnish rooms I have been in,—which are hundreds, I have never seen a ventilator. Why is it, that so many smart men will never ventilate a varnish room, when health, strength and life itself could thereby be made pleasant and happy for those whom they employ?

"A law compelling ventilation of paint shops and varnish rooms, would be humane, and confer health and blessings on those who now struggle with disease, and die long before their Creator designed they should. Perhaps their Creator had no particular design about it. I don't think he did. My factory is 130×56 ; having two large doors and one small one, giving ample means of escape in case of fire."

OFFICE No. 93, BLANK No. 2.

A Cotton Manufacturer, in reply to question No. 25, says: "They must have a regular discharge paper, before they can get employment in any other mill, in this city; but they can always have them if they have fulfilled their agreement."

In answer to question No. 40, he remarks: "In the dressing-room,—a room $62 \times 47\frac{1}{2}$ feet, we have four Robinson's Patent Ventilators."

In answer to question No. 42, he remarks: "In the centre of the mill, we have ample stair-room. In the tower, also, we have four fire-escapes for each room; two on each side of the mill, by iron ladders leading from roof to ground. Also, one on each end of the mill, for each room, the same as above."

In answer to question No. 45, he remarks: "We have two force-pumps—one rotary and one steam; each having capacity to throw four *three-fourth* inch streams to any part of the mill; with hydrants for hose, (on the ground,) at convenient distance from the mill, and

from each other; and hydrants on each end of the mill, on fire-escape at each landing; and the same in the tower. There is, also, a four inch pipe running the whole length of the mill (overhead,) in the attic, perforated with holes. This pipe is connected with the force-pump. We also have one American fire extinguisher in each room; and buckets, filled with water, distributed in the rooms."

OFFICE No. 40, BLANK No. 2.

A Boot Manufacturer remarks: "Our business is carried on in such a manner, that we find it difficult, and in fact, impossible to answer many questions in Blank No. 1.

"We manufacture about 3,400 cases of (12 pairs per case,) men's, boys' and youths' thick boots, per year; amounting, at present prices, to an annual production of about \$100,000.

"Our work is mostly done by the piece; and a large part of it is done out of the shop, by persons who have other employment a portion of the time. One man may take out stock from our shop to make into boots, and employ several hands to assist him in making them; so that it is impossible to state how many are actually in our employ, or how much they earn.

"The hands that we employ in the shop, by the day, work 10 hours, and we pay them from \$2 to \$2.75 per day. Those working by the piece, and working the same number of hours, average about the same. We have some, however, who earn as high as \$24 per week, by working from 12 to 15 hours per day. We probably employ from 40 to 50 hands most of the time, all, except 5 or 6, adult males."

OFFICE No. 51, BLANK No. 2.

A Plane Manufacturer, in answer to question No. 70, says: "I never have had continuous labor without vacation; and it is not usual for my hands, who work in the shop, to work more than 8 or 9 hours per day; they doing what they call a day's work in that time, and some of them less.

REMARKS.—"Our work is entirely piece work. We have done but little since the war. Prior to that, we employed 20 hands; 15 at the bench."

"In reply to question No. 5: "During the 20 years I have been in the business, I have had 5 or 6 hands who have gone West, carrying with them from \$200 to \$700, which they earned at the bench, over and above their living. My men usually earn from \$60 to \$80 per month."

OFFICE No. 71, BLANK No. 2.

A Tanner and Currier, in answer to question 16, "Has there been any general strike among your employés during the five years last past?" says: "In February, 1864, the curriers of Salem and South Danvers (now Peabody) struck, and the employers refused to comply with their demands, and after about two months' idleness they disbanded and went to work, poorer, but wiser men."

In answer to question 18, "For what object was such strike made?" he says: "To say no man could work in a factory who did not belong to their association; and only so many apprentices allowed, per man, in factory; and at any time when a man or men were needed, the association would furnish the required help—poor or good—at their price. The result of the strike was impoverishing."

In answer to Question 20, "What was the loss of aggregate earnings to the parties?" he says: "About \$75,000 for Salem and Peabody."

"In answer to questions 21 and 24, "Did such strike affect the market value of your stock, &c.?" he says: "We obtained other help, so that it made but little, if any, difference for the year. It helped to make higher prices. We refused to employ any man belonging to this association after he struck and quit work, unless he withdrew from said association."

OFFICE No. 151, BLANK No. 2.

An Employer in Iron Works, in reply to questions No. 24 and 25, says: "A few years ago we had some trouble among the moulders. A delegation called upon Mr. ———, and demanded that certain moulders, not members of the moulders' union, should be discharged. Mr. ——— refused, when quite a number quit work; but in a short time everything went along smoothly. Since that time, we have generally refused employment to members of the moulders' union."

OFFICE No. 103, BLANK No. 2.

A Manufacturer of Children's Sleds, in answer to question No. 75, says: "I find that men who work in my shop cannot stand exposure to the weather out of doors, like men who are accustomed to it; they take cold more easily, and therefore pay the consequences."

REMARKS.—"In running over the questions asked, I have endeavored to answer them correctly, as nearly as I understood them. I very often hire by the day, and pay my best help \$1.50 per day. But part of the time they want piece work, and earn \$2.00 per day

by working the same number of hours, which suits me just as well. These wages may look very low to people living in cities and large places, who get three or four dollars per day; but I find that men who work in large places, and get higher wages, do not provide as well, or lay up as much money, as those do that work for our wages. Rent and firewood seem to be the great items, but there are a thousand and one ways to spend one's wages in large places that we do not enjoy here. But your inquiry is more in relation to what I am doing. My business is not extensive, as you will see. I manufacture about \$5,000 worth per year, and employ but seven regular hands. The single men lay up money, and men with families get a good living on the wages herein stated."

OFFICE No. 108, BLANK No. 2.

A Gas Manufacturer remarks: "There is no manufacturing establishment, to any extent, in this town. The laborers and mechanics are principally foreigners, and, taken as a whole, are in very prosperous circumstances. Laborers get from \$1.75 to \$2.00 per day; blacksmiths, \$3.00; painters, from \$2.50 to \$3.00. They work ten hours. Intemperance is the greatest drawback upon their earnings. The amount expended by them for drinks is enormous. All the cases of poverty among them, as far as I am acquainted with them, may be traced to intemperance. There is more intemperance, according to their numbers, among the mechanics, than among the common laborers. Those laborers and mechanics who have got places upon which they live, and have them paid for, or are paying for them, work from twelve to eighteen hours per day, and save their earnings. These men are not asking for an eight-hour law. I paid a laboring man \$140 in October last for his labor, and he worked *twenty out of the twenty-four hours for it.*"

OFFICE No. 168, BLANK No. 2.

A Whip Manufacturer remarks: "Ours is a business not requiring machinery. Consequently we have none, and do the work by hand, except two or three simple machines for rolling the lashes, and a wringing machine, used in turning the skins. Our work is mostly put out away from the shop, and the braiding done in families, where some member or members have a leisure hour occasionally; although some work most of the time. We have, in case of fire, a hose to attach to a faucet, where water is running constantly, and about twenty feet from the store and cutting rooms, which can be used to throw water all over the rooms and building. Our ventilating process is nothing extra, only we think sufficient,—viz., scuttle, windows and doors."

THE WHALE FISHERY.

The following remarks upon the Whale Fishery are by a resident of New Bedford, and will be found interesting and instructive :—

There have been employed in the whale fishery during the year 1869, from the whole United States, forty-nine (49) ships, one hundred and seventy-six (176) barques, twenty-four (24) brigs, and eighty-nine (89) schooners, making a total of three hundred and thirty-eight (338) vessels, whose aggregate tonnage is seventy-four thousand one hundred and ninety-nine (74,199) tons.

The largest of these vessels will measure from three hundred and fifty (350) to four hundred (400) tons, few exceeding three hundred and fifty (350) tons; while the smallest are as light as a hundred (100) tons, or thereabouts.

The largest class of vessels (ships and barques,) carry four boats for whaling purposes, and a complement of thirty (30) men. The second class, (small barques and a few brigs,) chiefly devoted to the sperm fishery, carry three boats, and a complement of twenty-three (23) men. The smallest class (small brigs and schooners,) carry two boats, and a complement of (15) fifteen men.

The number of men employed can be only approximately ascertained, as there will always be some vessels that are short-handed, and the complement of men to each vessel of the same class, somewhat varies. The complement given in these statistics is the maximum. In round numbers it may be stated that this fishery employs in actual service on the sea nearly eight thousand (8,000) men.

Of these vessels Massachusetts owns two hundred and ninety-nine (299), which are thus distributed: one hundred and seventy-eight (178), of which forty (40) are ships, belong to New Bedford; twelve (12) to Fairhaven; seven (7) to Marion; three (3) to Dartmouth; ten (10) to Westport; one (1) to Holmes' Hole; seven (7) to Edgartown; eight (8) to Nantucket; fifty-five (55) (chiefly schooners,) to Provincetown; one (1) to Wellfleet; nine (9) to Boston; four (4) to Salem; one (1) to Beverly; and three (3) to Newburyport.

The number of men employed in these Massachusetts vessels may be stated, in round numbers, at seven thousand three hundred (7,300.)

This is a great falling off from the highest degree of prosperity attained by this fishery. Eighteen hundred and forty-six was its most prosperous year. There were then engaged in it no less than six hundred and seventy-eight (678) ships, barques and steamers,

thirty-five (35) brigs, and seventeen (17) schooners, whose tonnage makes a total of two hundred thirty-three thousand one hundred and eighty-nine (233,189) tons, of which the proportion belonging to Massachusetts was even greater than at the present time. This shows a falling off of one-half in the number of vessels, and more than two-thirds in the amount of tonnage. The diminution was gradual, with spasmodic variations, to 1863, when the ravages of the Shenandoah materially diminished the fleet in a comparatively short period.

Still this is by no means a despicable channel of business even in a financial point of view, since the receipts of oil at the port of New Bedford alone, amounted during the past year to upwards of four millions (\$4,000,000) of dollars.

The manner of conducting the business is as peculiar as the business itself. No wages are paid in any instance, to either officers or men; but the remuneration of all is conditioned on the success of the voyage. The terms of shipping are for such and such a proportion of the whole catch of oil, the proportion each officer and seaman is to receive being technically called his *lay*. The lays vary materially according to the experience of the parties contracting for them, and the confidence reposed in their skill and usefulness. But in general terms it may be said, that on a four-boat ship, the captain's lay will be from a tenth to a fifteenth of the catch, the mate's from a twentieth to a thirtieth, the second's mate a thirty-fifth, the third mate's a fiftieth, the fourth mate's a sixtieth, a boat-steerer's a ninetieth, the cook's a hundred and fortieth, (with half the *slush* made on the voyage added,) the steward's a hundred and thirtieth, an able seaman's a hundred and eightieth, a green hand's a two hundredth. The aggregate of these lays is expected to amount to about thirty-three per cent. of the value of the voyage, and sometimes mounts as high forty per cent.

The officers of the vessels are almost always Americans, of good substantial character and nautical experience. But the composition of the crews is peculiar. In former times the great majority of them was made up of Americans, as the service possessed some special attractions; the voyages averaged not more than half the length required for a full cargo at present, and the value of oil was such as to insure good remuneration for the services rendered, even under comparatively adverse circumstances. Even then, however, as the exigencies of the voyage often obliged captains to restore their diminished crews to the full complement by shipping Portuguese hands at the Western Islands, these Western Islanders came gradually to constitute a portion of almost every crew; and quite a

settlement of them began at New Bedford, the families of the sailors following them to this country, whereby a precarious livelihood on the islands was exchanged for the certainties of a comfortable support.

During the war, Americans could not be obtained on any terms; crews had to be picked up as best they might. The vessels, therefore, were accustomed to sail from port with only two-thirds of a crew, made up hap-hazard of all nationalities, trusting to the contingency of completing their complement at the Western Islands.

At present, a portion of the crews is obtained from the shipping masters in the large ports, fifteen dollars being paid by the agents for each man. This procures, in general, the worst class of seamen, those who have run the gauntlet of all the ordinary experiences of sea life, and, without credit or character left, are ready for any venture. Not more than a quarter of the crews are Americans; and of the balance, nearly or quite one-half are Portuguese.

The "outfitters," as they are called, are accustomed to furnish the officers and crew of a vessel that is about to start on a cruise, with outfits, by way of clothing and other necessities, to as large an amount as they can persuade the owners of the vessel to accept. Thus, for a three or four years' voyage, there will be charges in advance against an ordinary seaman, of from a hundred to a hundred and fifty dollars; against the mates, of sums severally ranging as high as four hundred dollars, (if their characters are good, and they are a decided acquisition to the ship,) and against the boat-steerers, of from a hundred and fifty to two hundred dollars. In addition, a slop-chest is put on board from which clothing is furnished at a hundred per cent. profit on the cost, and "liberty money" is often supplied to the men at the ports at which the vessel may touch during the cruise, to enable them to have a good time on shore. These several channels of expenditure, so improvident are most of the the hands, (always excepting the Portuguese,) often bring them into debt to the ship on settling the voyage, even when the catch has been a fair one.

But it is far different with the Portuguese. Brought up, through dire necessity, in habits of severe economy; early taught the value of money, and how to keep it when acquired, these men, as a class, are as provident as they are shrewd. They are not imposed on by "outfitters," to any great extent, and they desire little or no "liberty money," in the ports they may visit; and of the money deposited in the savings banks by the seamen from our whaling ships, nine-tenths is the savings of the Portuguese.

It must not be supposed that these Western Island Portuguese,

who so largely aid to man the most of our whale ships, are, as seamen, mere makeshifts, for want of better material. On the contrary, they constitute, in the main, the best part of the crews. Trained to the management of boats from early childhood, they need to serve no apprenticeship as to that material part of the business, while the fact that their pay is dependent on their success, appealing to their shrewd, acquisitive habits of mind, induces them to be wide awake and keen-sighted when on the lookout for whales, and eager and persevering in the pursuit of them. In addition, their personal habits are comparatively of the best description. Rarely is one addicted to the intemperate use of ardent spirits, and in other regards they are usually continent and careful.

Life on board ship is an alternation of exciting and engrossing toil, that occurs when whales are plenty, and business consequently brisk; and of tedious monotony,—the latter covering by far the greater portion of the time. An ordinary merchantman may be out at sea many successive days, or even months, but there is a port in prospect, towards which the course of the ship is steadily shaped, and there is an element of relief in this definiteness of direction, even in the midst of calms or baffling winds. But the whaler is out for a voyage that is perhaps to continue for years, and the most of the time is spent cruising hither and yon over the open sea, with nothing to give aim and direction to the mind, unless there be whales in sight. The occupation of the seamen during these long and often dreary intervals when the ship does not need their care, is as various as their characters, and habits of mind and body. Some improve themselves by reading; some manufacture ingenious knickknacks with jack-knife or other tools, for sale when they reach home; some cut ivory into artistic shapes, and engrave it with attractive or fantastic devices for the same end; and others drone away the hours in their lazy, unproductive idleness. One will find full and reliable details of life on board a whale ship, written in a charming and instructive manner in Dana's "Two Years before the Mast."

The moral influence of time thus spent in enforced isolation from friends and society can be readily appreciated. To those who have mental resources to draw upon, or intellectual tastes to subserve, it may prove no detriment; but over those who are poverty-stricken in these respects, it must exert a deleterious influence. The compulsory association with so many hard characters as are to be found in almost every crew, adds another element of fearful disadvantage to the service as a school for morals and character. There is a third source of evil that must not be overlooked in a

candid survey of the character and influence of the business. The chief ports of resort for most whalers in the Pacific are on islands in the ocean, where the readiness of the native women to gratify the passions of the sailors,—crowding on board ship, perhaps, for the purpose,—throws a fearful temptation into the pathway of youthful seamen; and where the officers are lax in discipline, or themselves loosely inclined, eventuates in scenes of revolting debauchery.

The gala days of the whale fishery seem to be over. The times have gone by when a vessel could start out for a cruise in the Atlantic Ocean, run down as far, perhaps, as the mouth of the La Plata,—an excellent cruising ground for sperm whales,—and return in less than a year with a full cargo, that will command at once a price which will amply repay the officers and men, and make the owners rich. Now, the voyages average more than three years in length; the ships must rove over every sea, their keels vexing the Arctic and the Antarctic, the Atlantic and the Pacific. In addition, the cost of fitting out the vessels is from thirty to forty per cent. more than previous to the war, while the spirit of extravagance that seems to have been an inspiration in every phase of American society and every department of business on shore, has invaded the sea also; so that the charges against the vessels, contracted by the captains in the ports they enter, are far greater than formerly, and often materially affect the profits of the voyages. Still, after all, it is estimated by discriminating men engaged in the business, that the returns for the last five years will average twelve per cent. on the investment.

The settlement of the claims of the officers and men, on the return of the vessels, creates quite a business for the lawyers; for the claims of the outfitters, the charges for articles from the slop chest, and for "liberty money," and the lien of each man on the catch, create a complication that it often takes a sharp judgment to unravel; and, as many of the hands are foreigners, render it necessary for their protection, that some friend should stand between them and possible injustice.

Every voyage must be settled for, by statute law, within ten days after the arrival of the vessel in port.

We have spoken of the demoralizing influence exerted over the crews of our whaling vessels by the licentious opportunities enjoyed in the islands of the Pacific that are the places of rendezvous for the vessels. That is a direct and definitely appreciable evil, traceable through its physical as well as moral effects, and is so serious, as to constitute an important element in any discussion of the comparative

condition of the different classes of laborers in the Commonwealth. But there is another source of moral depravation, less directly traceable, and more insidious in its effects, but operative, to a far greater extent, to lower the moral tone of the men employed, to abridge the profits of the business, and prostrate its character.

I mean the influence of the length of the voyages over the *home* feelings and virtues of the men. In the old days of the business, when whales were plenty, and a successful voyage could be made in from a year to eighteen months, a good portion of every crew was made up of men of settled social and domestic relations, who had corresponding ties to bind them to their homes, and who returned with the vessels in which they shipped, to constitute, while they remained on shore, a portion of the substantial, reliable bone and sinew of the communities in which their lot was cast. Especially was this true of the officers of the vessels, who were almost invariably persons of more or less property, of well known and valued character, and of a citizenship which they honored and prized. But gradually the whales have grown scarce, the length of the voyages has increased, and singular effects have been produced.

Withdrawn from home for several successive years, home feelings and associations have become blunted, and character correspondingly demoralized. There is far less attachment on the part of the officers and men to the vessel in which they may have shipped, and of loyal adherence to her fortunes. Changes from ship to ship, therefore, are frequent. This spirit of restlessness is encouraged by those related to the trade in the Sandwich Islands, who derive a profit from the changes that may occur. For one temptation to change, is the advance of wages made by the captain of the vessel, with whom a mate or seaman may ship at the islands, and that advance is sure to be spent on the islands before the ship starts.

From this cause the expenses of the voyages are very often increased so as seriously to abridge the profits, while the social status of the mates has gradually become lower and lower, until now they are often not greatly above the floating material of which the crews are largely composed; and it may easily be seen that this is in severe contrast with the facts of former days, and gives evidence of a lamentable depreciation in the comparative condition of the men employed, with other classes of laborers in the Commonwealth.

[Attention is called to the marked disparity in the award of shares, or "lays," as they are termed. In the present state of the discussion, it should be understood that, the payment of labor by

a share of its products, is not necessarily coöperative. It is well known that the worst social evils, and the widest extremes of condition, characterize the society of our whaling ports; quite as much so as in the manufacturing towns and cities, where we find the worst evils of the wage-system. In both instances, as is shown in the case of the Portuguese, the native laborer is displaced, or struggles in hopeless competition with races so depressed, as to require little more than the barest elements of life. The Portuguese on the whale ship, stands in the same relation to our maritime population, that the French Canadian does to our rural residents. In dealing with industry, there is no end to this process; the Kanaka supersedes the Portuguese, and the Coolie will starve those who have already crowded out the children of the soil. The certain and fearful results of these conditions are forcing themselves upon the attention of the community.—BUREAU.]

SUMMARY OF REPLIES TO QUESTIONS,
WITH
EXTRACTS AND REMARKS.

[FROM BUREAU BLANK No. 3.]

So far as possible, we have tabulated the answers to questions Nos. 1 to 30 inclusive. It will be perceived that names of respondents are omitted, for reasons already given,—having reference to loss of employment. Taking Table No. 5, it will be seen that the sources from which replies are gathered occupy a wide field, and represent fairly the community of labor. Given, as these replies are, with great uniformity, by men of mature years and judgment, of varying nationality and employment, they may be taken as a faithful picture of the life and thoughts of the more advanced, and generally better paid, workmen.

The most difficult question to be answered, as will be readily perceived, is No. 27, relating to actual expenses of a year's living, working people, as a general thing, and, indeed, people with more time and better facilities, often neglecting to keep any account of household expenditures in detail. We find, on examination of blanks, and comparison of figures, that expenses overrun receipts, and again, that not seldom when there would appear to be a balance there is really no such balance. (Table No. 7.)

In relation to their hours of labor, (question 28,) meals and sleep, it appears that they fulfill better than any other class the adage of "Early to bed and early to rise," though it is not so clear that they reap the promised blessing of "makes a man healthy, and wealthy, and wise."

The statements of receipts of earnings of wife and children

(question 29,) are meagre. Those that are given do not indicate a large income from those sources. In the better paid employments the wife is at home, where she ought to be, earning, really, by her care of house and family, the complement of her husband's pay, besides providing for him a place of rest after his wearying and worrying labor. No avaricious demand for cheaper labor should drive her from this specialty and privilege, while the measureless woes entailed by the reply attributed to an English statesman to the demand for still lower wage, "*Take the children,*" should teach us not to sacrifice the power and influence of a true home to any greed for gain.

Under question 30, we have tabulated the number of rooms to each respondent,—varying from one to ten,—omitting dimensions, as the entire number of rooms returned, and their great variety, rendered it wholly impracticable.

REAL ESTATE.

31. Do you own the house and land you now occupy?
32. If *yes*, did you pay therefor from your wages, and how long were you in earning the purchase money?
33. Are you owner of *any* real estate?
34. If *yes*, where is it, and what is its assessed value?
35. Do you own such real estate clear of mortgage? if *not*, what is the amount still due thereon, and what are the interest and conditions of the mortgage note?
36. Is said estate under mortgage to a savings bank, or to a private party?

[For answers to above, see Table No 8.]

OTHER MATTERS RELATING TO HOMES.

37. If you hire a house, or hire rooms, what is the name of the owner thereof, what the name of his letting-agent, (if there be one,) and their residences?
38. If you hire rooms, and not a whole house, how many rooms do you hire, and how are they situated?
39. How many rooms are there in the whole house, how many families, and how many persons?
40. Have you any privileges in the yard of such house, or in the shed thereof, (if there be any,) and in the cellar?
41. What are the lengths and widths of such yard and shed, and height of such cellar?
42. Are these premises wet, or dry, in ordinary weather?
43. Has the house sufficient drainage? or is the waste of the house thrown into the street, or upon the grounds near by?
44. Is the house suitably provided with any modern conveniences?

45. What is the sanitary condition of its neighborhood ; that is, is it healthful or unhealthful ?

46. If unhealthful, name the special diseases, and the causes thereof, if you know them.

47. How is the house supplied with *water* ?

These questions were prepared more specially to enable us to speak in general terms upon the homes and surrounding of the working people, and the general impressions derived from the replies are incorporated into the general subject-matter of this Report. The replies could not be tabulated, nor did they supply matter for special remark. The verbatim replies given may be consulted for samples of replies in general. Fifty-six report sanitary condition to be good, and sixteen that it is bad.

METHODS OF PURCHASE.

48. Do you purchase your fuel in small quantities from time to time, or do you lay in a full supply for the season ? and where is such fuel kept ?

49. Do you pay *cash* for your household supplies, or have you what is called a *store account*, and how frequently has such store account to be settled ?

The same general remarks apply to these questions as to the preceding, Nos. 37 to 47. It is found that about half buy for cash, and half have store accounts.

DISTANCE OF WORK.

50. How far is your home from your usual place of work, and what does it cost you per day to go to and from work ?

51. How much time is consumed each day in going to and from your work ?

[See verbatim copy of Blank No. 3, Office No. 52, and Tables.]

EDUCATION, RECREATION AND AMUSEMENT.

52. Do you take any newspaper or other periodical, and have you time after work for reading ?

53. Have you time at any season of the year, either *before* or *after* work, for any recreative employments or amusements whatever ?

54. What recreations or amusements, if any, so far as you know, do working-men and working-women prefer to patronize ?

55. Are there any provisions connected with the establishment wherein you work, for mental culture, or social recreation of any sort ; such as a library, reading-room, or literary society, or for music or other proper amusements ?

56. If *yes*, are they managed by the employers or the employed ?

57. Are the attendant expenses paid by the employers or the employed, or partly by each?

117. Is there in your neighborhood, at convenient distance, any room or rooms, open during the evening, for mutual instruction, or for recreation?

Office No. 115. A Woollen Spinner states that "he takes a newspaper, but has not much time for reading." "What leisure time I have," he says, "I generally employ in reading or walking. My walking, however, is generally done on the Sabbath. I don't see much out-door amusement among the people here. At this season of the year, there is considerable skating; at other seasons of the year, I cannot say that there is much out-door amusement; no cricketing or wrestling; no race-running or jumping, as I have seen in England." In reply to question 55, he says: "There is a public library; and the company for which I work, finds the room and charges no rent. It contains some excellent works, and is appreciated. The terms are \$1 a year for those who avail themselves of its benefits."

Office No. 71. A Ship Joiner. "I take one daily and two weekly papers. I have time in the evening to read, but am too tired to profit much by it. To 53, "From 6 to 9 o'clock in the evening;" he states he has time for recreation or amusement, but adds: "during which time many of the errands and chores for the family have to be done." In reply to question 117, he says: "We have a room lately opened as a public reading-room."

Office No. 1. A Machinist states "that he takes one daily and two weekly newspapers, but has not so much time to read as he would like. In the summer he works in the garden, which is his only recreation or amusement." In reply to question 54, he says: "The young people go to the theatre, museum, &c.; but the older ones prefer lectures; and those that are obliged to work for their living, do not spend a large amount for amusements."

Office No. 46. A Factory Operative in a Card Room, states "that he takes two newspapers, but has very little time to read. The married portion of the working class," he says, "occupy their hours before and after work, in such amusements as sawing and splitting wood, and tending a little garden patch, if they can get one; single folks that board out, in summer, generally walk or ride out, play ball, pitch quoits, play at billiards, both before and after work." In reply to question 55, he says: "There is nothing of the kind in this place except a brass band, of which I am a member. It is supported by the village."

Office No. 23. A Boot-maker. "I manage to take one daily paper and one weekly, and have time to read them evenings. Do not work evenings in the shop. There are various places of recrea-

tion and amusement, such as Young Men's Christian Association, Lectures, Temple of Honor, Odd Fellows and Masonic Lodges, Crispin Coöperative Association, besides regular religious meetings, dancing, balls and shows, which are all very well patronized."

Office No. 45. A Spinner in a Factory: "I take the 'New England Farmer,' and sometimes the 'American Workman,' but have no time to read except on Sundays. I have no time for amusements, and only about 3 or 4 hours weekly, after work, for recreative employments." In reply to question 54, he states that "Nigger concerts, theatres, balls, and in too many cases, rum-shops, are the amusements which the working-men and working-women of his acquaintance, prefer to patronize."

Office No. 3. A Boot-maker states "that he takes a daily and weekly newspaper, which he finds time to read after 10 o'clock at night, and on Sundays; that he is fond of reading, but not of recreative employments or amusements; that the recreations and amusements which the working-men and working-women of his place prefer is dancing."

Office No. 26. An Inspector of Shoes. "I take three papers, but have no time for reading except evenings. As far as my observation goes, working-women prefer dancing, musical entertainments, temperance lectures and the drama. Working-men prefer billiards, Ethiopian concerts, dancing, and out-door athletic sports." In reply to question 117, he states "that there are in his neighborhood for mutual recreation and instruction, The Young Men's Christian Association Reading-rooms, and Whittier Lodge No. 51 K. O. S. C. Reading-room, supported solely by shoemakers."

Office No. 38. A Carpenter states "that he takes a paper, but finds no time to read after work, only when he should be sleeping, except in the winter;" states also, "that balls and theatres are the places of amusements which the working-men and working-women of his acquaintance, prefer to patronize." 117. He answers "Yes; the public libraries and reading-rooms connected with religious Institutions; *but they are all closed on Sundays.*"

Office No. 103. A Ship Carpenter. "I have not time to read the publications which I take. I occasionally attend a lecture, or some other public meeting." In reply to question 54, he states "that a majority of the working-men and working-women of his acquaintance, prefer some place of frivolous amusement, some walk or ride; others have games at home."

Office No. 29. A Plasterer and Stucco Worker. "I take the 'Boston Daily Herald,' and 'American Workman,' weekly. I am too tired to seek much amusement after work."

REMARKS.

We find that, with few exceptions, the respondents take newspapers, but with much uniformity, they declare that their time for reading is insufficient. Their recreations are of a greatly varied character, as the replies indicate.

The replies to Nos. 55, 56, 57 and 117, show a truly lamentable deficiency in all these matters, and present an unwelcome contrast to the provisions made in all well-conducted establishments in England. [See Senate Doc. No. 44, 1869, pp. 57 to 61.]

LIGHTING, HEATING, FIRE ESCAPES, &C., &C.

58. How many persons are employed by your present employer, and how many in the room in which you work, if you work within doors?

59. What is the length, width and height of such room?

60. How is it heated, how lighted, and, if ventilated, by what means?

61. Have you convenient and proper accommodations, of every sort, at, or near your work-room?

62. Has any accident ever occurred in or about your working-place, either from the heating or lighting apparatus?

63. If *yes*, was it attended with loss of life, or injury of any sort, and to what extent?

64. Are there ample means of escape from your work-shop, or work-room, in case of fire?

65. Are the stairways ample and sufficient, and do the doors open *out*?

[See Remarks on same subjects under Blank No. 2. See p. 212.]

ACCIDENTS.

66. To what accidents is your business specially exposed, and how may they be prevented?

67. Has any accident of any sort occurred at your place of work within the past three years?

68. If *yes*, describe it, and state its nature and results, and whether fatal or not.

69. In case of accident, does your employer customarily contribute to the relief and maintenance of the party injured, by continuing his pay, or otherwise, and to what amount? or to his funeral expenses, if fatally injured?

70. Do you continue in one position at your regular employment, and what is such position; and does your work require the same position during all your work hours?

71. Has any physical injury resulted to you from such working posture?

72. Are there any diseases incident upon your special employment, and, if *yes*, what are they?

73. Can you tell what is the average length of the life of a person employed in your special labor?

Office No. 79. A Boot Treer. "We are exposed to no special accidents—nothing more that cut fingers. In several cases where I have known accidents to occur, the employer has headed a subscription list, and then passed it round among the employés. I work in a standing position, and my work requires a great deal of movement. No physical injury, more than would occur to any one from overwork. More of my trade have died of consumption than of any other disease;—have known ambition to kill a great many."

Office No. 4. A Female Operative in a Factory. "Shuttles flying out are not easily prevented. The employer does not pay one cent in case of accidents. My regular position is standing; if work goes good can sit down, while one shuttle is running. Diseases incident to our work are, the growing out of shoulder blades; caused by starting of heavy looms."

Office No. 3. A Boot Maker remarks: "To bad health from hard work, long hours, bad usage, and small pay, compared to the cost of living. Boot and shoemakers generally maintain one position. I have experienced considerable injury from long standing or sitting. At one time took out a license and went peddling, to recruit my health. Think that two years at the bench is equal to three of my natural life."

Office No. 17. A Shoemaker. "There is some change of position, but still the great curse of shoemaking, is the bending of the head and shoulders forward, so as to impede the action of the lungs and stomach. My health is ruined because of this. The diseases incident to our business are consumption, dyspepsia, constipation and all its attendant evils."

Office No. 33. A Currier. "There are many accidents but they can be prevented by care." He relates the case of a young man, working on a splitting machine, who broke his arm, and was unable to work for months. When he came to work, business was dull; in a few weeks he was discharged, while other men were allowed to remain. He also remarks that his business is generally considered healthy.

Office No. 104. A Carpenter. "December 24th, a fore-planer had his hand and arm crushed in the machine, and was carried to the city hospital; but is now doing well." In reply to question 72 he says: "Diseases of the lungs, consequent upon breathing dust."

Office No. 103. A Ship Carpenter. "The business of shipwright is one of much danger; but much might be obviated by better stages and less driving by 'Bosses.' Several men have been killed, and a great number injured in this vicinity, within the time named." To 69, says: "Never knew of its being done by government or private parties." "Average life probably about forty-five years."

Office No. 46. A Factory Operative in a Card-room. "One boy was caught by the hand in a carding machine, and his hand destroyed. It was carefully dressed by the physician, but lock-jaw set in, and in eight days he died. The cause of the accident was carelessness. The company paid the doctor's bill and the funeral expenses." "I was injured by cutting my arm in July; was laid up about two weeks; I received nothing; never knew of any one's pay going on. My work is all over the room in different positions."

Office No. 51. A House Painter. "Standing on a ladder nearly in the same position." "Diseases incident to our business are consumption, lead-cholic and liver diseases."

Office No. 115. A Spinner in a Woollen Factory. "In cases of accident the parties injured receive no support from our employers; but if they are too poor to get along without assistance, a collection is taken up for them among the work-people."

Office No. 73. A Factory Overseer in a Dressing-room says: "There was a boy killed last fall in one of our rooms below by being wound round a shaft. Slight accidents have occurred in my room, such as fingers crushed, or the nails pinched off. We have a relief society, the duty of which is to take care of the sick and injured."

Office No. 75. A Mule Spinner in a Factory. "I have not heard of any who have contributed to those who have met with accidents in any of these mills; but it is possible that they do in bad cases." "My work requires athletic exercise, rather too much; I am sometimes rather more of a pedestrian than otherwise." "One year ago last month I strained myself by over-reaching, and it brought on a rupture on the right side, so that I am compelled to wear a truss, to keep it up." Average life, "from 15 to 20 years, after taking charge of a pair of mules."

REMARKS.

Particular attention is called to answers to Question No. 70. Remarks on same subject will be found in verbatim copy of Blank No. 3, Office No. 52.

APPRENTICESHIP.

74. How did you acquire a knowledge of your present trade or employment? whether by serving an apprenticeship, or by what other means; and do you teach your sons, (if any) the same trade, or desire them to follow it?

Office No. 86. An Iron Moulder. "Learnt by apprenticeship. I do not desire my sons to follow the same trade."

Office No. 42. A Woollen Weaver, English. "Learnt my trade from my parents."

Office No. 103. A Carpenter. "I served four years with my father. My own three sons have no desire to learn the trade, nor would I desire them to do so."

Office No. 26. A Shoe Inspector. "Have worked at shoemaking fifteen years; never served an apprenticeship; began on cheapest kind of work, and worked my way up to a skilled workman by my own energy, close application, and desire to be as good as anybody. Should not desire my son to learn shoemaking; think it a very poor trade at present time, *owing to the large number of persons unemployed* the greater portion of the year; consider the trade very injurious to health."

Office No. 3. A Bootmaker. "Served an apprenticeship of three months to learn a part of the trade; satisfied that my children will go at it, as I expect that the business will improve; there are too many at it now, and not work enough for eight months in the year and that at miserable wages; when work is plenty, have to work when we should be in bed, or reading, or gaining necessary knowledge, or teaching our children that they may be properly brought up."

REMARKS.

From the above replies, and many similar, it is manifest that as general rule, parents prefer that their trade should not be the trade of their children.

COST OF TOOLS.

75. What expenses, such as cost of tools, &c., &c., are necessarily incident to your trade?

No satisfactory information has been obtained.

WORK TAKEN HOME.

76. If the work you are employed on, is such, that you take it from the employer's general place of business to your own home, to be there finished and then returned, how frequently do you so take it, and what kind of work is it?

77. Do your wife and children assist in finishing up the work, and what are the ages of children so working, and how many hours per day and per week do they work?

78. What is the rate of pay therefor?

79. At whose risk are the materials for the work, when at your home, if lost or injured from any cause?

REMARKS.

Very limited replies. This system of work appears to be passing away.

IMPROVED MACHINERY.

80. Has new machinery, appropriate to your business, been introduced by your employer within ten years last past?

81. If *yes*, to what has it diminished the number of employés?

82. Has it rendered skilled labor of less value, or wholly valueless? or has it made it difficult or impracticable for persons in your department of labor, to go into business on their own account?

83. What is the actual, or estimated saving in cost effected thereby?

84. How did it affect the amount of production and cost of producing?

85. Has the division of labor, consequent upon the introduction of new machinery rendered your work more tedious and monotonous?

86. Have you ever long continued or monotonous labor, by day or by night, or by both, to affect the health of the brain?

87. Does your work exercise, to any extent, the higher faculties of your mind?

Office No. 122. A Waiter answers questions No. 86 and 87 as follows: "Yes, it affects the health of body and brain; in fact, work in our business does not make much brain; it makes more belly."

Office No. 108. A Carpenter answers questions 80 and 82. "Much machinery is now employed in our business, but cannot state positively whether it was not introduced before 1860, although the use of it has increased since that time. I doubt its having any tendency to diminish the number of employés. It makes it more difficult for persons without capital to go into business for themselves."

Office No. 87. A Bootmaker says: "The introduction of new machinery has diminished the number of employés forty per cent. That it has rendered skilled labor of less value. By such machinery as much can be done in eight months as it used to take twelve months to."

Office No. 69. A Door and House Finisher replies, "that it has diminished the number of employés one-third in the same amount of business, and that it has made it more difficult to go into business on account of the cost of machinery."

Office No. 48. A Dresser Tender. "We have machinery that will do double the amount of work with half the number of help. It has introduced more females and crowded out the males."

Office No. 38. A Carpenter. "New machinery has increased business, property has become more easy of access, and, therefore, the demand has increased, and labor *pro rata*. It has not decreased the demand for skilled labor, but has that of unskilled, for machinery does the work that unskilled labor once performed. It is easier to go into business, as it is not necessary to have a shop, or at least such a large outfit as heretofore; one-third of the cost is saved.

Houses and such property are increasing about eight per cent. against one and a half per cent. formerly. Work is in many cases more tedious and monotonous. The effect of a change in fashion (if modern improvements in building may be called changes of fashion,) is very good."

Office No. 26. A Shoe Inspector. "I think the number of employés is not diminished. The demand for goods has increased since the introduction of machinery, owing to lessened cost and the emancipation of slave labor. The advantages of machinery have been applied wholly to the employer. It has been no benefit to the mechanic as far as hours of labor or increase of wages are concerned. Think it has lessened the value of labor to a considerable extent. It has increased production and decreased costs. It has rendered work more tedious and monotonous."

Office No. 75. A Mule Spinner. "In the dress room they have taken out the dress frames and introduced the slashers. Four of them will do as much work as twenty of the others, but not so good."

Office No. 23. A Boot Maker. There has been new machinery introduced into our works, but it has increased rather than diminished the number of employés. He says: "I should judge that skilled labor was of less value by the introduction of new machinery, but not entirely valueless."

Office No. 79. A Boot Treer. "The machinery that has been introduced into this particular branch of trade, has done more to save life, than to diminish the number of hands. I think it has been a saving to both employed and employer."

Office No. 3. A Boot Maker. "It has rendered labor, of course, of less value, as the markets can be supplied easier and quicker, and makes it more difficult for us to go into business, as we cannot possibly buy such machinery."

Office No. 73. A Factory Operative in a Dressing-room responds to question 81: "They are at the present time introducing a new machine to do our work; it is expected that one will do the work of five hands."

Office No. 20. A Boot Maker answers: "Some new machinery has been introduced; can't say how much. If it injured our trade we should strike against it. In regard to machine work, my sympathy is strongly with the consumer of the goods so made."

Office No. 18. Another Boot Maker says: "It has not diminished the number of employés, but has more than doubled the production. It has had a tendency to concentrate workmen in factories, and render them less independent of their employers. It has increased the production nearly fifty per cent., with an increase of cost about

twenty per cent. It seems to be a struggle for life against great odds."

Office No. 9. A Shoe Cutter. "I do not think it has made skilled labor of less value; but makes it almost impossible for me to engage in the business. There is one machine in this shop that takes the place of ten men; another that takes the place of six men; another that takes the place of two or three men. Goods can be produced quicker and cheaper."

Office No. 1. A Brass Finisher replies to question 86 by saying: "I have seen men that I think were injured by that kind of work."

REMARKS.

Replies to questions 80 to 84 are too varied to be generalized. From replies to the other three it appears that labor has become much more monotonous and tedious, and that it affects the health of both body and brain unfavorably. Special attention is called to Office No. 64.

OLD AND NEW TRADES—FASHION.

88. What effect have changes of fashion had upon your business within ten or fifteen years?

89. Have any old trades, to your knowledge, died out in your town? and, if any, from what cause, or causes? and what were such trades?

90. Have any new trades sprung up within twenty years last past? and what are they? and when did they commence?

No information of value upon these points has been gained.

STRIKES.

91. Have you ever been engaged in any strike?

92. If *yes*, was the object thereof for increase of wages or for shorter time? and did you engage therein *voluntarily*, or compelled by surrounding circumstances? Write particulars on page 7 or 8.

93. How long did such strike continue?

94. What was its result?

95. How much time did you lose? and what was your loss in earnings?

96. If you depend on your daily earnings for your daily support, how was you supported during such strike? If supported by a trades-union, to what extent?

97. Can you give the loss, or estimated loss, to your employer by such strike?

Office No. 127. A Factory Employé in reply says: "There have been no strikes in my department of labor, but in the handloom

weavers (carpet) department, numbering forty, connected with this establishment, I have known seven workmen to have been discharged for participating in a strike which lasted four months." This strike, he also states, resulted in a reduction of wages.

Office No. 20. A Boot Maker. "In a strike I fulfil a Scriptural injunction,—I am 'as wise as a serpent and as harmless as a dove.' I am at present engaged in a strike against the unholy attempt of a tyrannical 'boot-boss' to reduce our wages. I have lost nine weeks; should not have lost any time if I had sold out my principles, as others tried to do. I will starve to death and go to —, before I will submit to what I consider an attempt to disorganize us." In reply to question No. 97, he states that it has been estimated that "ten thousand dollars have been lost to my employer by this operation."

Office No. 29. Another Employé. "In January, February and March, 1868. The object was to prevent a reduction of wages. I engaged therein voluntarily; the strike lasted three months or more; the result was, the employers had to accede to our demand; I lost two months. In March I went to Omaha, and worked there five months at \$5 per day.

Office No. 33. A Currier. "I am opposed to strikes as a general thing, for this reason: I do not believe the working masses are intelligent enough to decide the question. In my opinion, if the employers were to aid in educating the masses, through the medium of debating clubs, there would be fewer strikes, and a greater union of sentiment between the employer and employed. As it now stands, there is a great gulf fixed, and neither party seems willing to assimilate with the other."

Office No. 3. An Employé in a Boot Manufactory states that he has been engaged in a strike caused by the manufacturer proposing to cut down the price of work, and, consequently, that he fell in with the gang, and that they succeeded in accomplishing the object of the strike; and that he lost about five days. "I was supported on trust; as I got into debt of \$18, I had to pay it from my own earnings."

Office No. 114. A Factory Employé states that he was engaged in a strike in April, 1867; object, to shorten the hours of labor. With him the strike continued all summer before he could obtain employment elsewhere; that he lost six months time, and in earnings and travelling about \$500; and "was supported by friends where he could get them."

Office No. 103. A Ship Carpenter states that he was engaged in a strike, both for the increase of wages and shorter time, and

that the act on the part of the strikers was generally voluntary, though sometimes against my wishes. In 1866 I lost a month's time against a reduction of *ten* per cent. on labor, and an increase of one hour and twenty minutes on time; had to submit to both, at a loss of \$100 personally. The loss to employers," he resumes, "was stated to be five millions in New York and Boston."

Office No. 89. States that he was engaged in a strike which lasted four days, and proved a success, with a loss to him of only about \$12.

Office No. 87. A Boot Maker states that he has been engaged in a strike for increase of wages, which lasted one week, and that he obtained his price at a loss to him of about \$18; also, that he supported himself during the strike.

Office No. 81. States that he was engaged in a strike against a reduction of wages, which lasted sixteen weeks. He also states, that the result of the strike was "a reduction of about fifteen per cent."

Office No. 100. In compliance with your wish to gain information of the journeymen tailors' late strike and its results, I give you the following particulars, which are as near correct as I can give them. Up to the year 1863, the journeymen tailors of Boston were the worst paid class of working men in the community, having to work from fifteen to eighteen, and even sometimes twenty-four hours per day, and that without any stipulated price for their labor; but had to be satisfied to accept whatever remuneration their employers chose to give them for those long and tedious hours of hard work, and all owing to the absence of organization by which they might work in harmony together. Therefore, in the commencement of the spring of 1863, the journeymen held a mass meeting at the Stackpole House in Devonshire Street, in order to take measures to set a price on their labor, which they did, and appointed a delegation from among them to lay their claim before the respective boss tailors of the city. But this delegation met a rebuff, in which it was told that the bosses would not be dictated to. On receiving this answer, the journeymen organized a society and unanimously agreed to strike until their just and very moderate demand should be complied with. The strike did not last long, as the busy season had arrived, and the orders of customers must be attended to, so that in a few days the journeymen tailors of Boston gained the first object of their organization. But owing to the steady advance in the price of the necessaries of life, the journeymen had to make a second demand for a raise of wages in the fall of the same year, which they obtained without any difficulty. Now those demands

of the jours being very moderate and not at all keeping pace with the cost of living, had to be repeated from time to time during three years, and were complied with on the part of the employers. But the condition of the journeyman was not much improved by the advance of wages which he received, his living cost him all he earned, and his hours of labor were not diminished. A customer gives an order for a suit of clothes which he wants at short notice; the merchant tailor, to meet the demand of his patron, very often finds it necessary that his journeyman should work all the hours which intervene between the time said order is given and the time it is to be executed. The jour on his part has no alternative; he must continue in this way of working during the two busy seasons of the year; that is, three months in the fall and three months in the spring; otherwise he cannot get a living, for he can get but very little to do during six months of the year. This, along with being paid by the piece, is one of the causes why a journeyman tailor has to work so many hours per day; and another cause is, he does not get sufficiently paid per piece to afford him a living without working these long hours; and hence the cause of the journeymen tailors' strike last fall, by which they hoped to bring their wages up to the standard paid to mechanics in other branches of business, and in which they were successful, notwithstanding the determined attitude which the employers assumed at that time to oppose them, resolving at their meeting never to sign the bill of prices which the journeymen then presented; but after the lapse of one week they had to cave in and sign the bill. It was during that week that the journeymen tailors' coöperative store was started, in order to have something to fall back on if they should lose the strike.

REMARKS.

To consider fully the suggestive subject of strikes, not a modern experiment, since a very early one at Rome, gave origin to the Veto, more time and thought are needed.

DISCHARGES.

98. Have you yourself ever been discharged for participation in a strike, or in any labor reform movement, or have you ever known any workman to be discharged for such causes?

99. Has your employer ever interfered, directly or indirectly, to prevent your procuring employment elsewhere, whether you left him by discharge or by your own act?

Office No. 121. A House Painter, says: "In 1852 or there-

abouts, I was discharged from the —— manufacturing company; and in 1866, from the —— machine shop; the first time for agitating, in a private capacity, for a *ten hour* law; and the second time for appearing voluntarily before a legislative committee, to advocate a ten hour law."

Office No. 29. A Plasterer and Stucco Worker, says: "In January, 1868, I, with others, was discharged from the State house, by —— of ——, because we would not work for less than society wages. I understand the work was done by the day, and the State had so to pay for it; and whatever wages we got would not have been a loss to our employer."

Office No. 103. A Ship-Carpenter, says: "I was discharged from the navy yard, as an instigator of strikes—not to be employed again in the yard. Sixteen others were discharged for the same cause."

Office No. 4. A Female Factory Operative, in answer to question 99 says: "It is a custom on this corporation, if any employé leaves without notice, for his overseer to prevent him or her getting work in any other room on the corporation."

Office No. 85. Spinner. "I have known of men being discharged for having engaged in labor reform movements." "By combination all the factory agents in this place have agreed not to hire any man who leaves their employ."

Office No. 114. A Mule Spinner. "That he and several others have been discharged for participating in labor reform movements; and that his employer interfered to prevent him from procuring employment elsewhere."

Office No. 122. A Waiter says: "I have known instances, among my acquaintance, when a boy, of men being discharged for belonging to labor unions."

Office No. 73. A Factory Operative says: "I have known workmen discharged for participating in the ten hour movement."

Office No. 113. A Nail Maker. "I have known six men, who were discharged, at one time for engaging in a strike; and also, a great many other instances."

Office No. 45. A Spinner. "I have never been discharged on account of strikes, nor for being engaged in labor movements, but I have known quite a number who have, and could name them; but it would do no good here." In reply to question 99, he states that he has known instances of employers interfering to prevent workmen who left them, from obtaining employment elsewhere.

Office No. 72. A Sub-Overseer in a Weaving Room, says: "I

have known operatives to be discharged for such participations" (*i. e.*, strikes or labor reform movements).

Office No. 16. An Upper Leather Cutter. In reply to question 98, says: "Have not myself, but know of a great many that have (*i. e.*, been discharged for participating) in labor reform movements.

Office No. 75. A Mule Spinner. He was once discharged for participating in a labor reform movement; and adds that he has known several others who have been discharged for the same cause.

Office No. 22. A Cooper, in reply to question 99, says: "I have never been discharged for participating in a strike, but parties have refused me employment in consequence of my advocating labor reform."

Office No. 120. A Painter states that he has been discharged for participating in a labor reform movement.

Office No. 48. A Dresser Tender in a Factory, says: "I know men who have been discharged for being labor reformers."

Office No. 26. An Inspector of Shoes states that he has never himself been discharged for participating in a strike or labor reform movement, but that he has known of others quite recently who have.

Office No. 47. A Harness Tyer in a Weaving Room states that he has known several that have been discharged for participating in labor reform movements.

REMARKS.

These extracts conform with the answers to Blank No. 2, and indicate that here, as in England formerly, persons are discharged for participation in strikes, trades and labor-reform movements. Testimony also goes to show that discharge is feared by parties who have been summoned as legislative or Bureau witnesses, if the fact of testifying became known; and further, that attendant on such discharge is the attempt to prevent the parties obtaining employment elsewhere.

TRADES-UNIONS.

100. Are you a member of any Trades-Union, or Working-men's or Working-women's Society? and what are the attendant annual expenses to you?

101. If *yes*, has its influence reduced your hours of labor, increased your earnings, made you more skillful and useful in your work, or profited you

educationally, morally, or socially, and how has it affected the habits of members in regard to temperance? Write particulars on page 7 or 8.

102. Send a copy of its Constitution, By-Laws, and Regulations.

Office No. 20, Blank No. 3. A Boot Maker. "The influence of the Crispin order has had the effect to benefit the morals, health, wealth and happiness of its members."

Office No. 38. A member of the Carpenters' and Joiners' Union of this city (Boston Union, No. 88,) says: "About five dollars are the annual expenses. The union has increased the wages of carpenters in this city. In 1867, the wages were increased fifty cents a day by a demand made by the union. The association with which I am connected has not been in existence long, but for the time, there has been a marked change made in the condition of the members who attend regularly, both mentally and socially."

Office No. 18. A Boot Maker says: "I think it (the trade union) has had a practical tendency to prevent a reduction of wages. It has profited me, educationally and socially. As to the habits of members, I think they have improved *very much indeed*."

Office No. 13. A Shoemaker says: "We have an organization, called the 'Knights of St. Crispin.' The expenses are about six dollars a year. It has been a good thing for all who work at the trade, as far as my judgment goes; especially in habits of temperance."

Office No. 101. A Book-binder says: "The influence has been decidedly good, educationally and socially, and helped us to secure better prices for our work."

Office No. 72. Sub-Overseer of Weaving. "I belong to the 'Ten-hours League.' It has been useful to me only in a general way, thus far, as aiding my general culture."

Office No. 33. A Currier says: "I am a member of a 'Labor Reform Club.' The expenses are about thirty cents per month, at present, but in time will be less. Connection with such societies tends to elevate the mind in every particular. As a general thing, the morals in this locality are good."

Office No. 15. A Boot Crimper, speaking of the association to which he belongs, says: "It has increased my wages, and I hope it will reduce the hours of labor soon. It has done a great deal for temperance."

Office No. 29. A Plasterer says: "I belong to the 'Boston Plasterers' Union.' We pay twenty-five cents per month for dues; funeral assessments, twenty-five cents; and we have often been assessed to help disabled members, orphans, widows, &c. It has

reduced the hours of labor on Saturdays, increased my earnings, and made plasterers more temperate, in general, than they ever were before."

Office No. 107. A Carpenter remarks: "My experience in the 'trades-union' has convinced me of their efficacy in increasing wages, improving its members, morally, socially and intellectually, making them more temperate, better workmen, and better citizens."

Office No. 20. A Boot Maker remarks: "Now there was a large number so situated that they could not get away from their circumstances, in many instances having large families, and homesteads on their hands, mortgaged. It became evident that something should be done to prevent this class from falling a prey to capitalists, or taking the first step towards a system of serfdom from which there could be no backward steps. But how to unite upon a plan, was the important question. We could not adopt a scale of prices, because we had not faith enough in one another to make the attempt. We were told that this plan had been tried many times, and failed, and it was folly to think of adopting, for a national policy, that which had failed at home. Thus, within our own lines, avarice was arrayed against us like a mountain-wall, and our petitions to legislators were ridiculed and trampled under foot. But at a time when we had almost given up hope, the idea was started by a workman in the West, that if we could agree to pledge ourselves not to take apprentices, we could grow into a system wherein we could get even more than could be acquired by any other system, and eventually open the door to a coöperation in trade, as well as in political economy. The plan was eagerly seized upon and adopted. In a few months from this time, nearly every boot maker in the country was enrolled in this noble Order, and here we are to-day knocking at the door of every workman's heart to assist us in helping ourselves. We now desire coöperation in this trade. The first step is a charter from the legislature of the State. But this body saw fit to treat our petition as King George III. did the American colonies. But Great Britain lost her colonies; and the capitalists of Massachusetts may profit by her example. We do not ask for a 'Bureau of Labor' to look into our condition; we propose to take care of ourselves, and this we will do. We are determined to know why privileges are denied to us that are granted to moneyed associations. 'We enact,' says the statute, 'this law, looking to the permanent prosperity of the industry of the Commonwealth.' It looks to us as though it was intended to find out who to bribe, and how much more we could endure. Do you question our rights to a charter? If you do, you certainly

have given us no reasons why it should not be granted. If it is the industry and prosperity you seek, can it not be better carried out by allowing the workmen to receive good wages, which will be used in taking off the productions of industry, than to have wealth conferred upon the few, to be used in building up greater monopolies? The application for this charter has revealed the fact, that capital holds labor in a system of slavery, and we the toilers are determined to make a square fight for independence, charter or no charter. We are marching on! Rights or no rights, we are determined to cease work, or else have the profits of our labor!"

Office No. 121. A House Painter says: "Trades-union has not increased my earnings nor rendered me more skillful in my trade, except that it has been a part of my general education. Its object—a reduction of the hours of labor—has not yet been realized. I consider that it has profited me educationally, morally and socially, and others also. Its effects on the temperance habits of its members have been favorable."

Office No. 26. "The organization of which I am a member has nothing in its constitution relating to shortened hours of labor or increase of wages. They wish to regulate the supply of help and, by thus doing, control the surplus labor, which will have a tendency to reduce the hours of labor and increase wages. The Order proposes not to learn any new hands any part of the trade until the surplus help is reduced enough to permit what remains obtaining employment, at a fair price, the year round. Perhaps you are not aware that nearly one-half of the trade are lying idle three months in the year, caused by an irruption of mechanics from all trades. I am well aware that skilled workmen are not, and ought not to be, affected when brought into competition with unskilled workmen; but here again is shown the effects of machinery on labor. A skilled workman, who has worked all his life at the trade, goes into what is called 'a five-hand team'—mind you, he may know how to make all kinds of work in all its different parts. In that team there are four other hands, as is very frequently the case, that know nothing about any other part, except that which they have been enabled to learn through the assistance of machinery; yet they obtain the same wages as the skilled workman. Now this is unjust, and has a tendency to discourage skill.

"Machinery, in my opinion, as applied to-day in manufacturing shoes, is detrimental to the interest of shoemakers, not only inasmuch as it enables almost any one to get an insight into the trade, but also because the advantages are reaped altogether by the manufacturer." [This and the four next are from Boot and Shoemakers.]

Office No. 77. “K. O. S. C. Lodge in this town has been a benefit to its members inasmuch as it has had a tendency to make them save their money; but I doubt if it has had much to do with wages in any town or city in the country. But I do believe that the members are better off with it than without it. We hope soon to start a Coöperative Store and Building Association. We number over two hundred members. There can be no reform, except of the individuals; and I know that some have begun to save that would not otherwise have saved anything. As a general thing, the shoemakers of G—— were never so well off as to-day. They are well paid and clothed, &c., and are more sober and industrious than ever before. It is a fact, that we do not see an intoxicated person in our streets once in three months, and we do not believe in prohibition either.”

Office No. 10. “We have an Order of K. O. S. C. in our town, of which I am the executive officer. The aim of the officers is to impress upon the minds of the members that the interests of the employer and employed are identical; and I venture to assert that the men have learned more in the last twelve months than they did in the twelve years preceding, and yet there is a strong sentiment against the Order. They say we are combined to keep up the price of work to the damage of the consumer. Now, in Heaven’s name, what do these men want? Before the war, I got thirty-three cents a pair for making the same kind of shoe that we now get nineteen or twenty cents for making.”

Office No. 11. The writer states, that the trade-union in his place has not diminished the hours of labor, but has been the means of making the members, as a body, more temperate, and of benefiting them educationally and socially.”

Office No. 23. “I would say this influence is good; and their tendency is good in every respect, especially in temperance.”

Office No. 45. A Mule Spinner. “Trades-unions are productive of much good, in an indirect way, to the employed, and have some influence in shortening the hours of labor. But the only true method of labor reform is by coöperations as practised in England and on the continent of Europe, viz., the Rochdale system.

“The —— Workingmen’s Coöperative Association, organized, under the State laws, February 14, 1867, at the end of the first quarter had 50 members. They now have 155 members, with a fund of \$1,226.20. They have paid out, in dividends and interest, over \$8,000, which shows that the Association has raised nearly all its capital out of the profits, after paying expenses and making reasonable allowances for the depreciation of fixed stock. When I

became a member, I did not have one dollar that I could call my own; but was in debt about \$100 and one month behind in my store account. Now I have \$50 invested in the Association and ready cash enough to pay for all the necessities of life through the month, and owe no debts to any one.

"The Spinner's Association, of this city, has taken a prominent part in the agitation of the 'ten-hour system,' which is its prominent object; but, as yet, it has not been of much service in reducing the hours of labor; but we shall do all in our power to obtain the ten-hour law for our women and minors. It has done much, in an indirect way, towards increasing our wages, and I have no doubt but what it has some influence on our employers, at times, when they contemplate a reduction of wages. In fact, they feel that we are ready to move in the matter as soon as they do.

"I do not believe it has made the workmen more skillful at their work; but they are better educated and have profited by the association, both morally and socially, and are more temperate in their habits and less addicted to drunkenness."

Office No. 87. "It has not reduced the hours of labor, inasmuch as the majority work by the piece, consequently they can work as many hours as they please. It has increased my wages forty per cent. It has profited me educationally, morally and socially; and has a good effect on members in respect to temperance, as it does all it can to promote it."

In response to our request therefor, (No. 102) we have received copies of the Constitution and By-laws of the following named societies:—

"Knights of St. Crispin."

Said to be the largest and most completely organized of any trades-union in the country, and numbering in Massachusetts 120 Lodges, the whole controlled by a State Grand Lodge, and the State's Grand Lodges controlled by a General Grand Lodge for the United States. The object intended to be accomplished by these organizations is set forth in the following extracts from the general Preamble to their Constitutions:—

"The object of this organization is to rescue our trade from the condition it has fallen into, and to raise ourselves to that respectable position in society that we, as free citizens, are entitled to, and to secure us forever against any further encroachments from manufacturers. In union there is strength, and the formation of a national organization, embracing every boot and shoemaker

in the United States of America—a union founded on a broad basis—is our only hope to protect us from capitalists. Labor has no protection.”

“Year after year the capital of the country becomes more and more concentrated in the few; and in proportion as wealth becomes centralized, its powers increase, and the consequences are the laboring class are impoverished.”

“There is not a country on the globe better adapted for coöperation in manufacture than this country. In a few years more it will not be the case; capital creates monopolists as in European countries.

“Now, there cannot be any good reason why we should not have a fair compensation for our labor. If the profits of their business are not sufficient to remunerate them for their trouble of doing business, why not make the consumer pay the balance, and do away with the system of reducing wages.”

Machinists and Blacksmiths.

Their Preamble sets forth the following argument, viz.:—

Whereas, In the present organization of society, capital and labor being, as a matter of necessity, united in all kinds of productive industry, (and, as is generally the case, represented by different parties,) it has come to pass: That, in consequence of the smallness of the number representing capital, their comparative independence and power, their ample *leisure* to study their own interest, their prompt coöperation, together with the aid of legislation, and last, but not least, the culpable negligence of the working classes themselves; that notwithstanding their joint production is amply sufficient to furnish both parties the necessities, comforts and luxuries of life, yet the fact is indisputable, that whilst the former enjoy more than their share, the latter are correspondingly depressed.

Therefore, the Journeymen Machinists and Blacksmiths have, in several localities, effected an organization of their trades, by the formation of Unions for their mutual benefit and protection; and as the experience of other trades fully demonstrates the great utility of our International or Central Organization, and the said Unions having elected delegates to form and compose such Central (or International) Organization, we, the delegates elect, do ordain and subscribe to the following as the Constitution of the International Union of North America.

Bricklayers' Union.

Their Preamble is as follows:—

We, the Bricklayers of Boston and vicinity, in order to promote our interests—assist each other, promote intelligence and good feeling among ourselves, secure a fair compensation for our work, and raise our own calling to a fair standing with other branches of industry,—do ordain and establish the following Constitution, &c.

Journeymen Painters.

Cabinet-Makers and Carvers.

Journeyman Granite Cutters.

Journeyman Caulkers.

Saddle and Harness-Makers.

Wood Carvers.

Teamsters and Standmen.

Trunk-Makers.

Journeyman Shipwrights.

Carpenters and Joiners.

Coopers.

The objects set forth in the Preambles of the Constitutions of all these twelve substantially agree.

The Benevolent and Protective Association of the United Operative Mule Spinners.

PREAMBLE.—Whereas it has become evident that a fundamental change must take place in our social and industrial relations, and that our competitive society must be re-organized on the principle of a fair remunerative price for our labor. It is evident that the laborer must be protected against the *false political economy* which declares that a reduction of wages, *by giving an impetus to competition*, improves trade.

While the working classes, who produce all the wealth, are being reduced to the most abject and degraded position, their employers are daily accumulating immense riches—until at length capital must centre in the hands of a few individuals or corporations—and be used with fearful effect in still further depreciating, oppressing, and degrading the laborers.

It is impossible for labor to occupy that noble and dignified position which it ought to hold, until the relations of capital and labor are more equitably adjusted, by the employers giving to the employés a just and honest proportion of the profits of their labor.

OBJECTS.—A fair remunerative price for our labor; to prevent strikes, through the medium of arbitration; to cultivate by all honorable means a friendly feeling between employer and employed; a reduction in the hours of labor, as the best means to improve trade; to establish a mutual instruction Association, having for its objects the attainment of our rights, the protection of our interests, and our social elevation in society, as men; to raise a fund to accomplish the above objects.

The Boston Plasterers' Protective and Benevolent Society.

The Spinners' Association.

The Journeyman Ship Joiners' Union.

Besides these trades-unions, distinctively so called, there are associations of working-men and working-women, whose objects are to examine the general question of labor, to hold conven-

tions, and to agitate the whole subject. All their meetings are open to the public, and both sexes participate in whatever discussions may take place.

We have received copies of the constitution, &c., of the following:—

New England Labor Reform League.

Society of Equity and Justice.

Industrial Order of the People.

Massachusetts State Labor Union.

The Amalgamated Ten Hour Association.

The Labor Reform Institute.

Boston Eight Hour League.

Trades-unions were undoubtedly originated to resist the legislation which, in the middle ages and later, attempted to regulate the rate of wages by law. From the control under which labor was placed, and the habitual exercise of mastery during villenage, an exercise which did not at once leave the dominant class, it was necessary that all such associations should be kept in profound secrecy, and the rigid observance of this secrecy deprives us now of anything like minute knowledge of their working and influence. We know, however, that but for legislative interference, wages would have risen after the plague of 1349, as the ranks of the laborers had been greatly reduced, the personal habits and their homes rendering them ready subjects of its ravage. These societies were formed, doubtless, for the purpose of removing obstacles in the way of raising wages, and for purpose of relief in time of want or sickness. Against them very severe penalties, even to the cutting off of ears for a third offence, were enforced under the law, and it was not until 1824 that the members ceased to be amenable. In 1813 eighteen men were hung for participating in the destruction of labor-saving machinery. It will be perceived, on study of the extracts, that it is claimed that the influence of these unions is favorable to culture, to social status, to industry and morals, and especially favorable to temperance.

HOURS OF LABOR.

103. Have you ever worked more hours per day than you now work? If yes, give the number of such longer hours, and the date when.

104. What effect had such longer time upon your own health, and upon the general condition of your fellow-workers? Write particulars on p. 7 or 8.

105. What has been the influence of shortened time upon your earnings?

106. What has been its influence upon the habits and customs, and the general condition, moral, mental, and physical, of your fellow-workers, and of yourself? Write particulars on page 7 or 8.

107. If beneficial, would a further reduction, in your opinion, produce similar beneficial results?

Office No. 1. A Brass-finisher and Machinist, working ten hours per day at \$3.62, says: "From 1841 to 1852 I worked eleven hours per day regularly, and sometimes more. I cannot say that it injured me, but I do not think it improved my health. I think it would be advantageous to the working-class to have the hours of labor eight. My first reason is, that with all the labor-saving machines, eight hours will produce all the necessities and comforts of life, and leave a surplus to lay by. My second reason is, the working-class will get *only* the necessities of life, let them work ever so many hours, as it is not the number of hours that a man works that fixes the pay for a day's work, neither is it the amount in value that he produces, but the great regulator for the price of a day's labor is just what that laborer is willing to live on,—no more (but sometimes less). If what we call first-class mechanics were willing to live in the same style the common day-laborer does, he would get no more pay. Supply and demand have something to do with the question, but the mischief is, *supply* is always in advance of *demand*. It seems to be a fixed fact the world over that the laborer shall only have a bare living. Therefore, I say, if he can get a living by working eight hours, what is the use of working more. I think eight hours per day would be a great help to the working classes in cities, as it would give them time to live out a little way in the country; and it would have a tendency to reduce rents in the cities, but, as it is now, the landlords in cities take all the profits of labor. I have no great faith in 'eight-hour laws.' It ought to be regulated by custom, which is stronger than law. It ought to be a living principle in every man that he was made for something better than to work all the time, except when he is sleeping or eating. 'Man's inhumanity to man' in the distribution of the products of labor, is the real cause of all the complaint that we hear from the working class. '*Give us justice,*' is all they ask."

Office No. 4. A Female Weaver, working eleven hours per day, by the piece, says: "In 1864 I worked one hour longer, being paid five cents per hour besides the regular piece pay. It was wearisome, but did not injure my health, nor do I know of any

that were injured thereby. Shortened time without an increase of pay per yard. would have a bad influence, as it is difficult at the present time to make much."

Office No. 121. A House Painter, working ten hours per day, at \$2.25, says: "When employed in the Lowell Corporation Mills, I worked, previous to 1853, twelve hours, and since then, eleven hours per day. The only reduction in the hours of labor in my time was that of 1853. I was a factory operative, a fuller, and the hours were reduced as above. The influence of that reduction has been good. Dr. Gilman Kimball, late physician of the Lowell Hospital, is my authority for saying, (what I have personally observed) that the sanitary condition of our operatives has been much improved by the reduction of time. The general condition of the operatives, morally, physically and mentally, has also been improved thereby. The effect of longer hours was to exhaust the vital powers. Being subject to bilious headaches, I lost, upon an average, one day per week by the exhaustion consequent upon the longer hours. I suffered less after the 'eleven hour system' was introduced, in 1853, from this ailment, as well as from every other. The longer hours system unfitted me for participation in religious meetings. I was a class leader in a Methodist church, but found myself so exhausted on Sundays, that my most prominent desire was to stay at home and rest; and others suffered in a similar manner. The greatest need of factory operatives now is a ten-hour law."

Office No. 14. An Upper Leather Cutter, working ten hours per day, and Saturday, nine, at \$3.50 per day, says: "Before the war the rule for work was from seven A. M., to twelve and from one to five P. M. We then took one half-hour for supper, after which we returned and worked until seven, or half-past seven o'clock. When I returned from the army, I found the change as it now exists. My health was nearly ruined when I enlisted in 1861, but it has been much better since. I do not think I should have lived thus long, if I had not gone out of the shop. Everything has been on the inflating order since the war, but I think wages are comparatively lower than they were before the war;—the hours of labor are less, so I am not clear as to which cause it is owing."

Office No. 40. A Machinist, working ten hours per day, at \$2.35 per day, says: "In 1864 and 1865 I worked eleven hours, and sometimes thirteen hours per day. My health was not good, and I lost much time. Now I work less time, and get more pay. Shortening the hours of labor has improved my health and condition. I think a further reduction would be beneficial. Eight hours per day is as long as any man ought to work."

Office No. 26. An Inspector of Shoes, working six hours per day, at \$3, says: "In 1861 I worked twelve and fourteen hours per day; the effect was bad; I was completely run down during the time I worked long hours."

Office No. 101. A Bookbinder, working ten hours a day, at \$2.50 per day, says: "I am interested in two questions, viz., the reduction of the hours of continuous labor, and the abolition of POVERTY! The reduction of the number of hand-laborers derives its chief importance from its bearing on the abolition of poverty. Whatever may be the cause of poverty, it will be conceded that, in order to redeem our individual self, or a class, from that condition, there must be an improvement in surrounding circumstances;—an increase in the reward of effort, and also a higher standard of ambition. I cannot conceive of a transition from poverty to comfort or independence, except through the operation of one, or else all three of these causes. It is my firm conviction, that the reduction of hours will bring into play, with increasing power, all three of these uplifting and redeeming agents. Without attempting to go into a long argument, I will briefly state a few of the considerations that have led me to this conclusion. It will throw much light upon this subject to notice what has been the effect of a reduction of hours in the past. The testimony is of one uniform and unbroken tenor. Time gained was not more time abused. Leisure for dissipation was made the opportunity for improvement. Numerous evening schools sprang into existence, and those who filled them were formerly—great numbers of them—patrons of liquor shops or other disreputable resorts. This is more particularly true of England than America, perhaps owing to the blessings flowing from our common schools; but the elevating effect of the reduction in hours of labor in our own country is scarcely less apparent, but in a different way. I well remember when I was an apprentice, and the working day was twelve hours, how difficult it was to find time to attend any lectures. They were not as common then as now. But when the hours were reduced, working-men could generally get out to evening entertainments. No one will deny that the New England lyceum system has been of great benefit to the working people. No argument is necessary to prove that if long hours had continued they would have found but little, if any, time to attend the lectures. It is manifest the lyceum system would have been, so far as the masses are concerned, an utter failure on the twelve-hour system of labor. That the benefits of a reduction to *ten* hours are manifest and universal all will admit. The masses, having so well appropriated the two hours gained, it is little less than down-

right impudence to oppose a further reduction on the ground that the time gained would be used to their injury. But even allowing the danger, the remedy which should suggest itself to every truly philanthropic and Christian mind, would seem to be the organization of wise and counteracting influences, such as free libraries, scientific lectures and places of innocent entertainment.

“Another important consideration in behalf of a further reduction of the hours of labor, is the fact that, the laborer who cannot afford to pay the price of a decent tenement in the city, must ride or walk into the suburbs, which takes, perhaps, two hours each day; making his working-day virtually 12 hours, even now. When the 10-hour rule was adopted, he could better afford the rest of that day than he can that of the present. To such as these, 8 hours at their business would mean 10 hours in all.

“But again, reduce the day’s labor to 8 hours, and it would be in the power of a large number of our working-men and women to reside out of town, who cannot now do so. Short hours mean long rides; and that means cheaper rent. This tide of tenants flowing from the city into the country, would ease the overcrowded houses, and bring down rents. A multiplication of happy homes around the city, would stimulate all industry, and greatly increase the exchange of products. This statement is founded on the plain principles of political economy, not to say common sense. As people are elevated and improved in body and mind, the wants of body and mind are multiplied. On this simple fact depend all trade, prosperity and wealth. Thus it will be seen, we ask for a further reduction of hours from no blind impulse, from no passionate excitement, acting without reason or reflection. We demand it on the clearest principles of justice and wisdom, of public and private welfare!”

Office No. 76. A Boot Maker, working $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours per day, at piece work, says: “From 1851 to 1858, I worked 14 hours per day. I cannot earn as much in $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours now, as I could then in 14.”

Office No. 103. A Ship Carpenter, working 8 hours, at \$3.26 per day, says: “I commenced work in a ship-yard in Massachusetts, in 1823, and worked from sunrise to sunset. From 1842 to 1847, I worked in Maine, when the ten-hour system was established there. The influence of long-time I found injurious to health and degrading to the morals of society. Most of the men who had the reputation of being smart, broke down under long hours, and a great deal more time was lost on account of ill health then, than there is now. The writer is anxious that the ‘Bureau of Labor Statistics,’ should present in their report, as far as possible, the proportion of the products of labor received by those who work for stipulated wages, the num-

ber of hours per day, the different kinds of labor, average for the year, per man; the number of hours run by each cotton spindle, on the average of the whole number; and what would be the amount of cotton consumed and goods produced, if every spindle in the State should run 8 hours per day, for the whole year."

Office No. 48. A Dresser Tender, working 10 hours per day, at \$2.17, says: "I worked $4\frac{1}{2}$ years, from 1861 to 1865, from 12 to 16 hours per day, and I receive \$1 a day more now than then. If the hours of labor could be reduced to *ten*, in all the mills in the State, it would be a great blessing to mankind."

Office No. 33. A Currier, working 10 hours a day, at \$2.25 per day, says: "During my apprenticeship, I worked 12 hours per day. It had (long hours,) a tendency to depress the mind and wear out the whole body. The influence of shortened time has been an increase of wages; it has also been beneficial to the mental, moral and physical condition of the laboring classes. I am also of the opinion, that a further reduction of time would produce similar beneficial results."

Office No. 15. A Boot Crimper, working 11 hours, at \$2.75 per day, states that in 1863, he worked 13 hours per day, and that the long-time did not affect him much, as he was younger and stronger then than now; that the shortening of the time has not affected his earnings much, as money was different then than now. He also says: "I think 9 hours a day is enough for any man to work, and shortened time would give us a chance to educate ourselves and children."

Office No. 38. A Carpenter, working 10 hours, at \$3 a day, states, that in 1865, and previous, he labored $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours per day; and that the effect of long time is demoralizing. "The shortening of the time," he says, "has caused a great increase in the intelligence of the working classes, and they are becoming discontented with their present social systems. The influence on the middle classes has been very good, and hence the progress of temperance organizations within the last 20 years; and the more the hours of labor are reduced, the more equalized will society be."

Office No. 46. A Third-hand in a Cardroom, working 11 hours per day, at \$1.60, states, that in 1856, he worked 14 hours a day; and in 1866, 12 hours per day. He says: "It had a very bad effect. We had no time for anything but work and sleep." He also states, "that wages are about the same now as before the time was reduced; but the men have more time for reading and recreation. He says: "I now see a great inclination among the working class to improve their condition."

Office No. 32. A Currier, working 10 hours per day, at \$1.92, states, that the influence of shortened time upon his earnings has been an increase of wages, and that he finds more time for reading; and also, that in his opinion, a further reduction of time would produce similar results.

Office No. 74. An Overlooker, working $64\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week, at \$2.25 per day, in answer to question 106, says: "We all know that when a person's time is not taken up with work, it must be taken up with something else. Now if we were to change from 11 hours per day to 10, the person's system would not be so exhausted; consequently, it is not so likely that they would resort to stimulants to make them feel good; so that with a clear head they would be much more likely to read and study. I had a talk with an overseer from Maine, and he told me that when he first took charge, scarcely a hand in his employ could write his own name; they worked then 14 hours per day. Since then, they have reduced the time to 12 hours; and he says, he very rarely hires hands now who cannot write their names."

Office No. 3. A Boot Maker, working $13\frac{1}{2}$ hours per day, at piece work, says: "I worked in ——— some years ago. I went into the shop at $3\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock, A. M., and got home from my work at 10 o'clock, P. M.; making 17 hours' hard work. I got broken down, and could not stay. We run down in health. A too quick movement of the body caused the entire damage, making us thin, light and miserable. We had but little or no time to clean or wash ourselves, except once a week. *Hours of labor* in ——— factory: They go into the mill in the morning at $6\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock; dinner-time from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$; leave work at $6\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock, P. M., making $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours per day, for children. Adults in almost all other occupations, labor from 8 to 10 hours per day; but piece work, outlawed. Mothers grumble at the little children getting up so early of cold mornings. All that I have said is but a trifle to what I could say. I am satisfied to declare most solemnly to my statements. They contain the truth."

Office No. 47. A Harness Tyer, working 11 hours per day, at \$2, states, that about 12 or 14 years ago, before they had the 11 hours' time, he worked 12 hours per day. "The longer hours," he says, "are detrimental to health and the general condition of the workmen." He also states that the influence of shortened time has been to advance his pay, and give him a better opportunity to lay out his earnings; and that a further reduction would most certainly be beneficial. He says: "I have long been fully convinced that a reasonable reduction in the hours of labor, would be beneficial, both to employer and employed; as the laborer would have

more time for rest and recreation. There would not, in my opinion, be as much leaving work for one or two days at a time; and I have heard many of the weavers say, they would weave as much in 10 hours as they now do in 11 hours, for they feel tired at night, and have not as much energy as if they did not work so long hours. And on the other side of the question, there would be a saving of coal and gas, and many other advantages to the employer. The operatives have to rise at 5½ o'clock in the morning, and cannot be said to have any rest before 7 o'clock in the evening; which leaves but very little time for improvement, or attending meetings; and I have many times known young women, when they have begun to sew in the evening, fall asleep in a few minutes."

Office No. 73. A Factory Operative working in the dressing-room ten hours a day, at \$3.26, states that in the years 1855 and 1856, he worked in a factory at Cohoes Falls, N.Y., thirteen hours a day; that his earnings now are about the same as then; that a further reduction of time would produce similar beneficial results. He remarks: "The heat of the room in which I work ranges, usually from a 100 to 110 degrees, and frequently goes above that; if ever below that, the work will be but imperfectly dried." As to shorter hours of labor: "In 1855, I worked for a man by the name of —, near —, in this State. The mill was run from four o'clock A.M., until 9 o'clock P.M., with thirty minutes for dinner. Saturday being a short day, the mill was stopped at five o'clock. Sunday, being a day of rest, the females (I mean those who had energy enough,) spent in mending their clothes, and in preparing for the coming morrow; and the males in bed the greater portion of the day. The effects of such overwork on both mind and body can be easily imagined. The only natural effect in the above case, was that the place and people were the most forlorn I had ever the misfortune to work with. In 1856 I worked for Mr. —; and that mill worked thirteen hours per day. The people there were better dressed, and, as far as I could judge, better fed; had more time for taking fresh air, and in all respects looked more comfortable and respectable. I came to — in 1859, and with the exception of being in the army two years, have been here ever since. We work here less hours than any place I have worked in since I came to this country, and the people and place look correspondingly better; and I feel constrained to remark, with honest conviction, that a still shorter working day, would be better for both employer and employed, the country through."

Office No. 113. A Nail Maker, working ten hours per day at \$3.50, states that in 1852, he worked fourteen hours per day, and

found the effect very injurious; thinks that the shortened time would increase the wages. Thinks also that the reduction of time has been very beneficial to all; and that a further reduction would produce beneficial results.

Office No. 31. A man working in a Boot Shop ten hours a day, at \$3 per day, thinks the reduction of time in the hours of work per day has had no great effect any way in his town. Years ago he worked more hours than now; the influence of shortened time has not had much influence upon his earnings.

Office No. 127. A Woollen Jack Spinner, working eleven and one sixth hours per day, at piece-work, states that from 1849 to 1852, he worked thirteen hours per day. The effect was to deprive him of sleep, and cause a general depression of mind and body; thinks that shortened time has tended to increase his earnings. He also states that there has been a general improvement in the moral, mental and physical condition of himself and fellow workers. Thinks, also, that a further reduction would produce similar results. In his closing remarks he says: "You will observe that my dinner is carried. I only have the privilege of taking four meals a week with my family. My children's working hours are before and after school. My earnings in 1869 are more than they ever were before, but it has taken all to keep us. I would also state that we have improved our condition in furniture and clothing. I hope our present legislature will give us a *bona fide ten hour law*. If they do not, I should like to see a general strike through the State. I would freely participate in it, and do all in my power to bring such a thing about, as soon as it appears they are not going to give it to us. I am a strong advocate of eight hours. The law passed in 1867 in regard to the hours of labor and schooling of children, is totally disregarded in this establishment, and always has been, notwithstanding the visits of General Oliver to this place. I should like to see the law enforced, because it would bring them (the employers) to the ten-hour rule. Otherwise, I have nothing against my employer. I am informed that the law is disregarded in Saugus and West Peabody."

Office No. 41. A Wool Sorter, working eleven hours a day, at \$2 per day, says: "We pray for a reduction of the hours of labor in manufacturing corporations and factories. I believe that the long hours we work, are ruining thousands of our working people, and this reform is the first to be looked after; and I earnestly hope you will recommend to the present legislature a reduction of the hours to *ten*."

Office No. 114. A Mule Spinner, working eleven hours a day,

at \$2.10 per day, states, that from 1852 up to 1854, when the hours of labor were reduced in most of the manufacturing establishments in Massachusetts, he worked thirteen and a half hours per day; and that the influence of shortened time upon earnings was but little at first, but afterwards it increased them.

Office No. 108. A Carpenter, working ten hours per day, at \$3, states, that in 1853, he worked eleven hours per day, and that the reduction to ten hours invariably increased the wages. He also gives it as his opinion, that a further reduction in the hours of labor would produce similar results.

Office No. 71. A Ship Joiner, working eight hours per day, at \$3.26, states, that when an apprentice he worked from sunrise to sunset, from March to October, and the rest of the year from seven A.M. to eight P.M. Since 1847 he has never worked more than ten hours per day in summer, or before sunrise, or seven o'clock A.M., or after sunset or six o'clock P.M., in winter, with one hour out for dinner. For the last two years he has labored only eight hour per day. He also states that the influence of short time upon the habits and customs, and general condition of himself and fellow-workmen has been beneficial, and that the wages on the whole have not been less, also that a further reduction would produce similar beneficial results.

Office No. 69. A Door and House Finisher, working ten hours a day at \$3 per day, states that until the year 1852, he worked from twelve and a half to thirteen hours per day in summer, and in winter, on an average, about nine hours per day. "The shortening of the time," he says, "has made no difference. The change in earnings has been caused by other means." In his opinion, a further reduction of time would produce beneficial results. He says: "As soon as the public mind has become properly educated, a further reduction may ensue."

Office No. 117. A Workman employed at Hand Knitting, working about ten hours per day at \$2, states, that in 1864 and 1865, he worked eleven hours per day, and that the effect was bad. For two weeks he was completely prostrated and his fellow-workers were often sick.

Office No. 67. A Boot Cutter, working ten hours per day at \$3, states, that in 1846 he worked twelve hours per day, and that he thinks the influence of shortened time upon his earnings has been good, as also upon the general condition, moral, mental, and physical of himself and fellow-laborers.

Office No. 75. A Mule Spinner, working eleven hours a day, at \$2.10 per day, says: "From 1852 to 1854, when the hours were

reduced, I worked from five o'clock A. M., until a quarter past eight P.M., having one hour during the time for meals. It would be impossible for me to give an estimate of my earnings during the year 1869, as I kept no account of them; and furthermore, having a book account at the store, and not being able to pay up my bills every month, through sickness and being overworked, I was in arrears on the first of January, in the neighborhood of fifty dollars.

"With regard to the reduction of the hours of labor it won't reduce the wages very much; for when I worked thirteen and a half per day, I got less than when I worked twelve hours, and I got still more pay when the time was reduced to eleven hours per day; and and so I think it will be by a still further reduction in the hours of labor. In a short period of time, it will benefit both the employer and the employed, and also very much benefit the rising generation, as they will have more time for study, and it will enable them to cultivate their minds by industry at home, as well as at their work."

Office No. 45. A Mule Spinner, working eleven hours a day, at \$2.17 per day, says: "I have worked 12 hours per day—not in this country, but in England—before the passage of the ten-hour law by Parliament, but not since then." He also states that the influence of shortened time has been an advance of wages. "In 1850, I was," he says, "earning 11 shillings per week, English money; now I earn \$13 per week." He also says: "The long-hour system has a tendency to shorten the lives of those working in the mills, on account of the unhealthiness of the atmosphere and the incessant labor they have to perform. The machinery runs so quick and the amount of labor is so large, (although not heavy) and the system becomes so jaded before the day is over, (particularly with young persons and women,) that a *ten-hour* system would be a '*God send*' to them, as it would give them more time for recreation and improving their minds and their mental, moral and social conditions in life, and would have a tendency to lengthen the lives of a great many."

Office No. 115. A Woollen Spinner, working eleven hours a day, at sometimes \$2.25 and at other times \$1.00 per day, remarks: "In my humble opinion, a reduction of the hours of labor is very desirable, and the condition of the factory operatives in Massachusetts is such as calls loudly for legislative action in their behalf. They work an hour every day more than the people in England who are engaged in the same work. If we reckon three hundred and five working days in a year, it makes five weeks and five hours in a year that factory operatives here work more than the opera-

tives in England, reckoning ten hours as a day's work. In giving a statement of the earnings of persons engaged in my business, I have endeavored to be as accurate as I possibly could be, without access to the pay-rolls. I have made inquiries of other spinners, and I think \$40 per month will be about the average; but, at the same time, I must inform you that there is no other class of operatives working for this company, whose earnings will amount to as much as spinners. There are about 1300 operatives working here, and there are perhaps 100 spinners; so, as you see, the latter form but a small proportion of the whole. There are many men working in the finishing department who are receiving but about \$1 per day. Girls, boys and women work in the card-room for 65 cents a day. Weavers make more, but I cannot state with any degree of accuracy what their average is. A short time ago the "Villager" (a local newspaper) stated that the earnings of the operatives employed by the ——— Mills, averaged *one dollar* per day. I presume it had some ground for the statement."

REMARKS.

As in the inquiries referring to the same subject in blank No. 2, no reference was made to any definitely named number of hours, the answers returned follow no leading question, but are given as the subject appears from the different stand-points of the several respondents, and we invite the most careful examination of the opinions expressed by the two parties interested. The subject demands, and is entitled to, the most thoughtful consideration; for out of it will flow, we believe, issues of vital importance to individuals, society, and the republic.

DEBTS.

108. What proportion of the working people, so far as you may have had occasion to know, are in debt?

109. What, in your knowledge or judgment, were the cause or causes of such debts?

110. Have you ever known industrious and temperate workmen to have been, from want of work or any other cause, in actual distress?

111. If *yes*, was it to such extent as to require aid from friends or from some society to which they may belong?

112. If *yes*, to what extent, when, and from what cause?

Office No. 46. A Factory Operative states, that nearly *two-thirds* of the working people of his place are in debt. In answer to

question 110, he says: "I have often known them so poor that they required aid from the town, or from any place they could get it. In 1857 there were a great many families that nearly starved for want of work, and were aided by the town."

Office No. 67. A Boot Cutter states, that *seven-eighths* of the working people of his town are in debt. "Intemperance, idleness, and sometimes a lack of employment are the causes." He also states that sometimes, in case of sickness, he has known industrious and temperate workmen that have required aid.

Office No. 84. A Hat Finisher. "My best judgment is, that *two-thirds* of the poor working-men are in debt. It is so hard times that working-men cannot get work to pay their bills."

Office No. 83. An Amateur Machinist. "Yes, when out of employment, through sickness or want of work. Skilled labor, generally, does not suffer from want, though it cannot lay up much. The great mass of laborers, even among machinists, suffer, if out of employment."

Office No. 31. A Laborer in a Boot Shop remarks: "Cannot say for any one but myself. I am."

Office No. 121. A House Painter states that about one-half of the working people of his acquaintance are in debt. The cause of their indebtedness he states is, "inadequate pay, irregular work, having store accounts,—monthly instead of weekly payments." He also states that he has known industrious and temperate workmen who had to be assisted, and that their distress was occasioned by "personal sickness, sickness in family, stoppage of mills, and from having families too large to be supported from the income of their work."

Office No. 45. A Factory Mule Spinner thinks that more than one-half of the working people of his acquaintance are in debt, and has known temperate and industrious workmen who had to ask aid of their friends or benevolent societies.

Office No. 3. A Boot Maker says: "According to the best of my belief *four-fifths* of the working people, by trying to keep themselves square, suffer little or much. I know many who are in debt." He says also, that poor pay and hard labor is the cause of their distress. He remarks, "Some run up bills in winter, and work to death in summer to pay up."

Office No. 26. In answer to question 109. "I am sorry to say, a foolish use of money; although it (their earnings) might not be adequate to meet all their bills, even if judiciously used. I do not think three-tenths of the working class earn anything above a living. I have known industrious and temperate workmen by the scores, who never got ahead anything above a living."

Office No. 77. A Shoemaker states that *four-fifths* of the working-men in his town are in debt. "Clothing, furniture, high living, and cheating by the grocers and butchers," he enumerates as causes of their debts. He adds: "The people of this town owe the grocers more than \$20,000, which will never be paid." In answer to question 110, he says: "Only from long sickness in his family."

Office No. 10. A Shoemaker. "I have known industrious men become destitute on account of sickness, either of themselves or families. At the present time it is hard work for a mechanic of any kind with a large family to keep square."

Office No. 11. A Shoe Cutter states that *one-fourth* of the working people of his town are in debt, some from necessity and some from poor management. Many have been helped, both by friends and benevolent societies.

Office No. 23. Another Boot Maker states that the working people in his town in debt are as "*three to five*." "Too little pay for a good share of their work, is the cause." In answer to question 110, as above, he says: "I have, and can say, that I am one!" In answer to question 111, he states that he received aid from friends.

Office No. 32. A Currier states that about *one-half* of the working people of his town are in debt. In answer to question 109, as above, he says: "Their not having sufficient wages." In answer to question 110, he says: "I have, and do now!" In answer to question 111, he says, "Yes."

Office No. 69. A Door and House Finisher states that probably *one-half* of the working people of his acquaintance are in debt. The cause of these debts he states to be from lack of proper management, accidents and sickness. In reply to question 110, he says, "Yes," and that these have required aid, both from friends and the societies to which they belonged.

Office No. 73. A Factory Operative, in answer to question 108, remarks, that perhaps *one in ten* of the working people, so far as he knows, is in debt. He attributes the cause of these debts to sickness, small children and mismanagement.

Office No. 115. A Woollen Spinner, in answer to question 108, says: "I could not state, with any degree of accuracy, what proportion of the working people are in debt, but I know a great many who are, and have to make their wages over to the storekeepers with whom they trade." In answer to question 109, he says: "In a great many cases large families of small children, and low wages; in some cases, intemperance." He responds to questions 110 and 111 by saying: "Yes, a great many, as good, sober and industrious men as ever graced any community; and to such an extent as to

need aid, but have denied themselves the necessities of life rather than have it known. I have known working-men contribute to the relief of their fellow-workmen, when, at the same time, they were unable to pay their own debts. There is much good among working-men that does not always come to the surface."

Office No. 74. An Overlooker in a Factory, in reply to question 108, remarks, that he cannot state the proportion of the working people in debt, but that there are a great many. He also states that large families and small wages are the causes of such debts. In answer to question 110, he says: "Yes, a great many!" He responds to question 111 by saying, "Yes."

Office No. 108. A Carpenter states, in response to question 110, as follows: "I have known industrious, temperate and skillful workmen, for months at a time, to be unable to obtain work, when the loss of a single week's work would cause them distress and privation."

Office No. 53. A Teamster, in reply to question 108, states that about *one-half* of the working people of his acquaintance are in debt, and gives as the causes, "small pay, long hours and rum."

Office No. 40. A Machinist thinks that full *one-half* of the working people of his acquaintance are in debt, and gives as causes, "incompetent pay for work done, and sickness." In reply to question 110, he says: "Not in this country; only from sickness," and states that such were aided by friends and the church; and that these received the "whole of their support for the time."

Office No. 38. A Carpenter. "About *one-fourth* are in debt, and *one-half* live from hand to mouth, and the other *one-fourth* have small sums deposited in savings banks. Many men are in debt from a desire to live and support their families as well as is necessary for health and respectability, and therefore find it impossible to save any money, or to lay anything by."

Office No. 103. A Ship Carpenter states that about *three-fourths* of the working people, so far as he knows, are in debt, and that insufficiency of wages is the principal cause of such debts.

Office No. 29. A Plasterer and Stucco Worker. "I know that there are worthy men in Boston who are now in distress from want of work, but their pride won't let them ask for aid from the society."

Office No. 16. An Upper Leather Cutter states, that a *generality* of the working people of his acquaintance are in debt, caused by not having sufficient pay for their labor. In answer to question 110, he says: "I have, many times." In reply to question 111, he says: "It was, or else they actually suffered rather than call for help; and their employers knew that they could but suffer."

Office No. 20. A Boot Maker. "Intemperance causes great distress to families; but the intemperate man is always true to his obligations. We have the most trouble with those who have property. Avarice is our greatest enemy. If an intemperate man receives aid, it is more than offset by his integrity."

Office No. 122. A Waiter states, that *many* of the working people of his acquaintance are in debt, caused by low wages and lack of work. In reply to questions 110, 111 and 112, he says: "Have been myself aided by friends, to a limited extent."

Office No. 41. A Wool Sorter in a Factory states that *one-fourth* of the working people of his acquaintance are in debt, caused by sickness and increased expenses in living. He also states that he has known industrious and temperate workmen in actual distress to that extent as to require aid; in 1868 and 1869, to the amount of \$400, from sickness.

Office No. 113. A Nail Maker. "About *three-fourths* of the working people of my acquaintance, are in debt; caused by 'high cost of living, and low wages.'" In answer to question 110, he says: "I have known a great many cases." In reply to question 111, he says: "Yes, they were!"

Office No. 18. A Boot Maker, in reply to questions 108 and 109, says: "I think it safe to say, that boot and shoe makers, as a class, are not worth a cent. It would take what little one-half may have accumulated above their debts, to pay what the other half owe. In my opinion, the cause of such a condition is, insufficient compensation for labor, and want of time for financial education. I think a very large class of boot makers, if sick, and their means of support thus stopped, if not helped by their friends, would suffer severely for the necessities of life."

Office No. 17. A Shoemaker. "I should say *nine-tenths* of the working-men are in debt; and the great cause is just this: they pay interest and tribute, in various ways, to the rich man's capital. Many are in distress, and have to steal a part of their living, by getting credit; and the cause is this, inability to compete with the stronger."

Office No. 13. Another Shoemaker. "I think *three-quarters* of the laboring men are in debt, up to their eyes. They cannot get enough pay to keep them out of debt. Some get only two meals per day."

Office No. 111. A Machinist. "About *nine-tenths* of the working people of my acquaintance are in debt, caused by small pay. Cannot remember but one case of temperate and industrious work-

men being in actual distress. That this case was aided by the watch factory; and was caused by doctor's bills."

Office No. 4. A Female Weaver. "Many of the operatives here are in debt, caused by small pay. I have known instances where industrious workmen have been in actual distress, on account of sickness; not being able to lay by anything from their small wages, while in good health. There have been subscriptions taken up through the mill, and have to be very often resorted to."

Office No. 15. A Boot Crimper. "The working people are in the hands of their employers, by the way of mortgages, &c., caused by not having pay enough for labor. I have known temperate men in actual distress, owing to large families, to such an extent as to require aid from the societies to which they belonged."

Office No. 127. A Woollen Jack Spinner in a Factory. "Should think *one-half* of the working people of my acquaintance are in debt, mostly from necessity, but some from bad management. Have myself been in actual distress, and have known several others who have been aided by their friends. For a few years back, I have known many instances of assistance from friends and subscriptions, from \$10 to \$59, to relieve, in cases of sickness, death and want of work."

Office No. 120. A Painter. Nearly all of his acquaintances are in debt; but remarks: "Some can't get credit!" He also states, that he has known industrious and temperate people to be in actual distress from want of work, or other causes, and adds: "And I am one! Yes, even to-day!—to such an extent, as to require aid."

Office No. 117. A Hand Knitter. *Ninety-nine* per cent. of the laboring class of his acquaintance are in debt; and also states the causes to be "Intemperance, high house-rents, low wages, and in some instances, dear food." He also states, "that in the winter of 1867–68, he knew of some cases of actual distress among workmen of temperate and industrious habits, owing to being out of employment, three months."

Office No. 76. A Boot Maker says he believes *one-half* of the working people with whom he is acquainted, are in debt; caused by "keeping an account at the store!" Has known one case of actual distress, aided by friends, but cannot state to what extent. This case was in 1860, and was caused by lack of employment.

Office No. 33. A Currier states that *one-half*, if not more, of the workmen of his acquaintance are in debt, caused by insufficient remuneration for their labor; has known cases of actual distress among temperate, industrious working people, to that extent which

required assistance from friends—caused by sickness and over-exertion.

Office No. 48. A Dresser Tender. "I know it is very hard to keep out of debt! In my judgment, the causes of debts are, high cost of living, and low price of labor, in proportion."

REMARKS.

These five questions (108–112,) caused us no little anxiety. How to put them without seeming, unwarrantably, to intrude into a sacred privacy, was perplexing. We were uncertain, also, as to the influence that might be produced by their seeming intrusion,—an influence that might be unfavorable to any investigations into the general subject. Yet, as a prevalent impression seemed to exist, that the working classes were, in all their several employments, in process of acquiring property, and that, as pauperism appeared to be diminishing, therefore the general status of labor was improving,—we were desirous of procuring facts bearing upon a subject so vitally interesting. The questions, as is seen, were quite fully answered, and they indicate that a very large percentage of wage-laborers are in debt. The causes generally assigned, are insufficient remuneration, and the habits that spring out of such insufficiency,—habits tending to waste and not to thrift.

COMPARATIVE COST OF LIVING AND WAGES.

113. Have your present earnings and present cost of living each increased in the same proportion to what they were before the late war, or has the cost of living increased in a greater ratio?

114. Give the highest, the lowest, and the average day-wages of workmen in your trade in your vicinity, for 1861 and 1869.

The answer to the questions No. 113, without exception, agree with the statement of Commissioner Wells, that wages have not increased in the ratio of the increased cost of living. Answer to question No. 114 may be found in Table No. 9.

PUBLIC WORSHIP.

115. So far as your own observation goes, are the working people of your town habitual attendants on public worship? and do their children habitually attend Sunday schools?

116. If not habitual attendants thereon, state the cause thereof, so far as you are able, and state in what manner their Sundays are spent.

Office No. 115. "As far as my observation goes, the working people of this place, as a general rule, are habitual attendants on Divine worship, and their children attend the Sunday schools. There are, however, exceptions to this. There are many who do not attend these places, but lead good moral lives. They are honest and industrious; but those who attend these places are made much better by it."

Office No. 75. "As far as I know, the working people of this city generally observe the Sabbath, and the children of every denomination are very good attendants on Sabbath schools. There are some who are not able to send their children to the Sabbath schools for want of necessary clothing to make them appear clean and respectable. Their minds are good enough to send them, but that is the great cause why they do not."

Office No. 108. "I am strongly of the opinion that a majority of the working people of this city are not attendants upon public worship on Sundays. I would not state this positively as regards their children. So far as I am able to judge, I believe the reason why the working people are not more habitual in their attendance upon public worship is, from an indifference as to the benefits, together with a lack of faith as to the sincerity of the so-called leaders in church affairs."

Office No. 72. "Less than one-half of the working people attend public worship; some who do not, send their children to church, and also to Sunday schools."

Office No. 71. "I think the working people of this place do generally attend public worship. I am not an habitual or frequent attendant, therefore, I do not consider my evidence of much value. My children habitually attend Sunday schools. I amuse myself at home reading, seldom going out on the Sabbath."

Office No. 47. "The working people generally attend public worship, but I fear too many absent themselves from these places."

Office No. 3. In reference to the working people of his town,—that almost all attend public worship, and those which he excepts are families that cannot afford to fit their children for day or Sunday schools. These few, he says, "spend their Sundays in indolence and folly."

Office No. 121. "So far as my observation goes, a majority of the working people do not attend public worship, but the children attend Sunday schools more generally than the parents attend public worship. The cause of this indifference he attributes to "a disposition to rest on Sundays; inability to hire pews or buy clothes." These, he also states, spend their Sundays "in rest; in

reading light literature, in promenading the streets, in making or repairing clothes."

Office No. 20. "The working people do not attend the *so-called* Divine worship. They do not believe in original sin and redemption through Christ, or any other man. Very little idolatry here! The church is considered a mart for the exhibition of dry goods!"

Office No. 26. "Those who can afford to dress up their children send them habitually to church and Sunday school. I think there is too much class distinction, and also some pride, as regards good-looking clothes. The Sunday of those who do not attend public worship is usually spent at home reading story papers."

Office No. 29. "The working people of this town are pretty good Christians."

Office No. 38. "A majority are not, though children are more attentive. 1. The rapid increase of class or caste in society. 2. The great expense of attending church. 3. The doctrines which the ministers of to-day preach are not in favor of the working class."

Office No. 16. The working class of his town are not habitual attendants on public worship; but their Sundays, he states, are spent in resting from their labors;—and that, in a good degree, the children attend.

Office No. 15. "I should say, from what I see, that the different denominations attend their places of worship and Sunday schools very well. Non-belief, in my judgment, is the cause of non-attendance. Some go fishing, but more go sleeping."

Office No. 45. "More than one-half of the working people of this city do not attend public worship, (excepting Catholics,) nor send their children to Sabbath schools; that this non-attendance is caused, in part, from a want of respectable clothing; also, that they spend their Sundays at home or in the country."

Office No. 120. "They are, (general attendants on public worship,) though some are not. Some do not attend for want of clothing; others are too exhausted by work, and seek rest at home."

Office No. 53. "The Catholics do, the Protestants do not. The Catholic Church is democratic; the Protestant Church is too aristocratic for the clothes they" (the working people) "are able to wear."

Office No. 122. "It is a large town, and I cannot tell; do not go myself; can't afford to, and don't want to; no Christian church that I know of; visited a great many of them, but could not find much Christ there."

Office No. 50. "They do attend but not so generally as before the war. The increase of expense in living prevents many from

enjoying the privileges of religious worship. They (the non-attendants) are generally very quiet at home, and enjoy reading extensively."

Office No. 87. "There is only one church in the place (excepting the Catholic,) and that is 'Hard Shell Baptist,' and as there are not many adherents to that persuasion in this place, (judging from the fact that they have no regular preaching,) suggests the idea that they do not care to send their children to it. In what manner their Sundays are spent, I do not know, but think, perhaps in loafing about town."

REMARKS.

The reasons for non-attendance on public worship should command the attention of all men of serious, religious thought. Various causes are assigned, most of which are traceable to lowness of wage, preventing hire of seats and suitable clothing. To this is to be added that the fatigue of long hours of weekly toil, calls for entire repose on the day of sacred rest.

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.

118. Have there ever been coöperative associations in your town?

119. If *yes*, how many? When did they start? Are any in existence now? and, if any have ended, when did they close up? and for what cause or causes? Give particulars on page 7 or 8.

REMARKS.

About nineteen instances are given of the starting of coöperative stores, most of which have been unsuccessful, from the assigned cause of want of interest. In addition to the coöperative iron, and the coöperative cigar manufactories, we have received a communication from the coöperative tailors, started in October, 1869, the origin of which will be found under the head of Strikes. It consists of twenty shareholders at \$100 per share.

SAVINGS BANKS.

120. Can you ascertain and report to the Bureau the number of depositors in your nearest Savings Bank, who are themselves actual working-men or working-women?

121. What is the comparative condition of such depositors as to intelligence education, social habits and home-life? Give particulars on p. 7 or 8.

A gentleman whose official position gives him a knowledge in the premises, which entitles what he says to credit, beyond question,

testifies that the ordinary depositors in savings banks are, as a general rule, from the lowest class of laborers, and are mostly Irish, who starve themselves that they may acquire. The better educated and informed American workmen do not, and cannot save, because their education, their manner of life, their home requirements, their sense of responsibility to wife, child and home, make demands, and by no means unreasonable ones, which their sense of duty in every relation justify them in meeting.

Office No. 38. A Carpenter says: "The condition of the depositors of this city is below the average."

Office No. 46. A Factory Operative. "There may be twenty-five out of the six hundred that work here that deposit their earnings in the counting-room. They are very close and steady men—mostly single."

Office No. 48. A Dresser Tender, says: "The depositors, as a general rule, are the better class of mechanics, or the higher paid help in the mills, intelligent, economical and industrious."

Office No. 10. A Shoemaker says: "I have no means of knowing how many have money deposited in the banks, but have reason to suppose that the number is comparatively small."

Office No. 45. A Mule Spinner. "I cannot, as I have no connection with any of them, neither do I mean to have." Of the depositors he says: "They are well educated, as a rule, but selfish."

Office No. 9. A Shoe Cutter. "I could get no exact information from the bank in this town. The cashier said there were 1,900 depositors, and he called them all working-men. I think I should differ with him on that point."

Office No. 4. A Female Factory Operative. I could not ascertain the exact number just now, but judge a considerable number, as we have a good institution here, flourishing. The greater number (depositors) are Irish and generally ignorant."

Office No. 122. A Waiter says: "Intelligence, education, and home life of depositors very bad."

REMARKS.

The consideration of this subject, which will necessarily demand much time and research, is assigned to the work of our second year.

EMPLOYEES AS OWNERS OF SHARES, AND SHARERS IN PROFITS.

122. Do you own any shares in, and are you, to any great extent, a consumer of the article or articles manufactured at the establishment where you

are employed? and if *yes*, are such articles sold you at the said establishment, and at a reduced price?

123. Is it usual for employé's to own any *stock* or shares in the establishments wherein they are employed?

124. Has there ever, to your knowledge, been divided among the employé's at your establishment, or at any other where you have worked, any portion of the profits from sales of their products?

125. If *yes*, give the date thereof, the amount so divided, and its percentage of the whole annual profit.

126. What was the amount allotted to you?

127. Is such division, if any, a customary thing in your establishment, or in any within your knowledge?

Office No. 15. Boot and Shoemaker. "No, I am not an owner. I use the articles manufactured, but not bought at our establishment." To No. 124, he replies: "No, when that happens, I will inform the Bureau, right off." To No. 125: "I should like to, but can't just now!" To No. 126: "Nothing; all I get is my hard-earned wages."

REMARKS.

The questions seem to have excited great surprise, and have been answered *invariably in the negative*.

CHILDREN IN MECHANICAL AND MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS.

128. How many boys and how many girls between 10 and 15 years of age, and how many under 10 years of age, are employed in the establishment where you work? or do you know of such children being employed in any establishment in your vicinity?

129. How many hours per day, and how many hours per week, are such children employed? and have they ever been employed in *night work*, &c.?

130. How many miles per day do such children have to walk, in tending the machine at which they work? and if you work in a factory, how great is your own daily walk in tending your machine?

131. Do you know of any instances of corporal chastisement for any cause? and if *yes*, by whom was such chastisement inflicted, and for what cause?

132. Have the children in said factory had, during the year 1869, the legal day schooling of sixty (60) consecutive whole days, or one hundred and twenty (120) consecutive half days?

Office No. 45. "There are about 25 children, between the ages of 10 and 15, employed in the establishment where I work. As near as I can ascertain, there are none under 10 years, either in the mill I work in, nor any of the other mills in this vicinity. These children work 11 hours per day, or 66 hours per week; and that

none are employed in the night. They have to walk, in tending their machines, about 8 miles per day; and that he has to walk 17 miles per day, in tending his machine. The instances wherein children suffer corporal chastisement, are very rare; and when chastised by the overseer, it is for shirking duty. The children have had legal schooling."

Office No. 122. "There are children employed in Roxbury under 10, and many between 10 and 15 years of age." He thinks that the children have to walk, in tending the machines at which they work, about 18 or 20 miles per day. "Has known cases of corporal chastisement inflicted upon children in factories."

Office No. 42. "There are employed in the establishment where I work, 8 boys between the ages of 10 and 15 years of age, and 5 girls. I do not know of any being employed under the age of 10. They work 11 hours per day, or 66 per week, and walk, on an average, 15 miles per day, while tending their machines. I have known instances of corporal punishment, inflicted by overseers." He also states that the children have had legal schooling during the year 1869.

Office No. 46. "I should think there were about 200 between 10 and 15 years of age, employed in the establishment where I work." He states these children work 11 per day, or 66 per week. There is no night work. That these children, when employed at their machines, walk, on an average, about 3 miles per day. "There has been some instances of corporal punishment by overseers, for not attending to their work." In relation to children receiving legal schooling, during the year 1869, he says: "I think they have. The bosses are very particular about that in this place."

Office No. 75. "I could not tell the number of boys and girls in the mill I work in, under those ages, but I do know there are a great many employed; and they are strictly looked after, if under 15 years of age, and sent out to school three months out of the twelve. All hands in the mill have to work 66 hours per week; none over that; and there is no night work. Children tending my machine, walk from 15 to 18 miles per day. My own daily walk averages from 25 to 30 miles." He states, also, that he does not know of any instances of corporal punishment inflicted upon children.

Office No. 73. "I judge there are many children under 15 years of age, employed in these mills. They have to work all the mill hours, viz.: 11 hours per day, for the first five working days; and $9\frac{1}{2}$ hours on Saturday; or $64\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week." Speaking of the miles the children have to walk while at work, he says: "It cannot

be properly estimated; but they are standing or walking all the working hours of the day." In relation to the legal schooling of these children, he says: "That is a matter entirely neglected, so far as my observation goes."

Office No. 114. The writer states that the children have to walk from 25 to 30 miles per day, while at work tending their machines; and that the children in the factory where he works, have had legal schooling during the year 1869.

Office No. 74. "There are a great many boys and girls employed in the factory where I work, under 15 years of age. They have to work $64\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week. They formerly had to perform night work; but that has been dispensed with. They occasionally work now until half-past nine, P. M." In reference to question 130, he says: "That is rather difficult to ascertain, but I should judge they walk 6 miles a day, in following their work." He also states that the children have not had legal schooling during the year 1869.

Office No. 41. The writer states that there are quite a number of children between the ages of *ten* and *fifteen*, and some under ten years of age, employed in the establishment where he works.

Office No. 127. "There are 2 boys and 7 girls between the ages of 10 and 15, but none under 10 years, employed in the establishment where he works; that on all working days, except Saturday, they are employed 11 hours and 25 minutes; on Saturday, 9 hours and 55 minutes; and that there is no night work. "Children are moving about all day. I walk upwards of 6 miles per day; and when not walking, stand braced, which is the most laborious part. The children have not had legal schooling during the year 1869."

Office No. 40. "There is no boy or girl under 10 years of age, in the shop where I work, but many in the city."

Office No. 9. There are 6 children between the ages of 10 and 15, and *three* under 10 years of age, in the establishment where he is employed, working 11 hours per day, or 66 hours per week.

Office No. 48. "There are quite a number of children between the ages of 10 and 15, employed in the establishment where I work. They work 11 hours per day, or 66 hours per week. I have known them to work 3 hours overtime, three or four nights per week, with one hour for dinner, from 12 to 1; and one half-hour for supper, from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 o'clock. The children walk, while at their work, 10 or more miles per day; I walk about 15 miles." In reference to children having legal schooling in 1869, he says: "I do not believe they have."

A gentleman, writing to the Bureau, says: "I have visited several of the factories in this vicinity, and in one of them took 7

names, only, of children—working under 15 years of age, and was hunted and handed out, while questioning a little girl, 12 years old, who did not go to school at all last year (1869.) There are several children, I am informed, under 10 years of age, in several of the villages, working their respective $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours, which is considered by the parents to be cruel, in the winter—getting out of bed at an early hour, and starting for their work at $6\frac{1}{2}$ on cold mornings. Manufacturers generally make statements to suit their business.”

REMARKS.

These answers give further evidence of non-conformity to the law ;—a law of the inefficiency of which enough would seem to have been already written in documents submitted to former legislatures. We ask attention to recommendation No. 2, page 197, of this Report. The miles walked vary in different rooms.

EFFECTS OF FACTORY LIFE UPON YOUNG WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

134. What influence, in your opinion, has factory work upon the health and habits of children and of young women ? and say whether it disqualifies the latter, or not, for household duties.

Office No. 3. “I have boarded with some women who have been brought up in factories, and always found them poor cooks, and poorly fit for household work.”

Office No. 47. A Factory Operative. “Confinement in an impure atmosphere is positively injurious to the health of children and young women, and tires them out so, that very many have no inclination or desire to attend household duties, consequently, it disqualifies them (the women) for household duties in after life ; and I have known many on this account make very uncomfortable homes, —which had a tendency to make drunken husbands.”

Office No. 121. “Work in the factories of — does not have a bad influence upon the health or habits of the children or young women, generally speaking. Excessive work has ; and I think our operatives are overworked. They work eleven hours a day ; ten would be quite enough for their powers. Many of the girls who have worked in the mill five or six years are disqualified for household duties. I think factory work renders them less fitted for the duties of maternity.”

Office No. 45. A Spinner. “It debilitates them, and makes them unfit for the reproduction of their kind. Young women, as a general rule, do not make good housekeepers when brought up in a

cotton mill, not having opportunity enough to initiate themselves into such duties on account of the long hour system."

Office No. 46. A Carding-room Operative. "In regard to health, it stunts their growth and shortens their lives, and, in some cases, totally disqualifies them for household duties."

Office No. 114. A Mule Spinner. "Children brought up in a factory are not capable of doing anything in household duties. They are careless, negligent and stupid to everything outside of mill work; there are, however, exceptions to the general rule."

Office No. 73. A Factory Operative. "In my opinion, it dwarfs both mind and body. As a general rule, factory girls make but very indifferent household ornaments at the best, until rough experience brightens the neglected material."

Office No. 115. A Woollen Spinner. "In my opinion, factory labor does disqualify young women for household duties. They are brought in contact with so much that is bad, that it corrupts their morals and renders them unfit to rear a family of children; there are, however, noble exceptions. A great many of the female operatives perform work which is too laborious for them, and when they get home they are too tired to do any household work;—and it is not reasonable to suppose that a person can become clever at something they have practised but little."

Office No. 74. An Overlooker in a Factory. "I think the present system of employing young children, say from ten to twelve years of age, breaks down their system, and unfits them either for wives, mothers or housekeepers. Take a child that has been employed in a mill from the age of ten, and you see a poor, delicate, care-worn, broken-down creature."

Office No. 50. An Overseer in one of the largest Factories in the State, working at a salary of \$1,200 per year, says: "I do not know of any evil effects of factory work!"

Office No. 4. A Female Operative in a Weaving-room says: "Factory work, in my opinion, is not healthful to children nor young women under the strict confinement of long hours. I think that young women that work in factories are fit for no other business. It disqualifies them for household duties."

Office No. 15. A Shoemaker who worked in a Factory thirteen years, says: "I had to leave on account of the dust and confinement. Girls that work in a factory seldom know how to do housework."

Office No. 127. A Woollen Jack Spinner. "In my opinion, such close confinement and long hours of labor are injurious to the

health of young children; I also believe it tends to disqualify young women for household duties."

Office No. 120. A Painter in a factory town. "Our factories are to children what rum-shops are to the young and all others. It unfits them for everything good; brings them up in ignorance,—unfits them for society, parents or anything else, and carries them to a premature grave."

Office No. 126. "I think it has a depressing influence on children and adults alike. According to my own experience, women are not worth much after ten years' factory life."

REMARKS.

The almost universal testimony given above, goes to show that factory life is detrimental to health, morals, and the general well-being of young persons and females, disqualifying the latter for household duties, thus corroborating testimony given to the Parliamentary Commission.

CHANGE OF EMPLOYEES.

135. How long, in your judgment, does the same set of employés work for the same employer in your special trade without change?

From the answers received no satisfactory conclusion can be drawn. The subject is involved in that of the family system of employés and the longevity of factory operatives, and needs further investigation.

ACQUIRING A COMPETENCY.

136. Did you ever know an instance of a workman (other than an overseer,) working at ordinary day wages, or at piece-work pay, who acquired a competence, upon which he could live without work? and, if *yes*, in how many years did he acquire such competence?

REMARKS.—This question has been answered by all except five, and almost invariably in the negative. A large number declare that it is impossible. A few have cited instances of men who have accumulated what they deem a competence, which we here give.

Office No. 10. A Shoemaker says: "I have known men, and could name several, with small families who have acquired by their labor from *three to fifteen or twenty* thousand dollars within the

last twenty years." [To do this requires an annual saving of \$512 +, and a compound interest thereon at six per cent.—BUREAU.]

Office No. 73. A Factory Operative answers this question in the negative, but says: "A few around me have, by steady perseverance, made themselves a home worth from *one* to *six* thousand dollars; but it is due mostly to the rise in real estate, this being a young and growing city."

Office No. 47. A Harness Tyer in a Factory intimates that he has known a few who have acquired a competence; but adds, "It requires almost a life-time."

Office No. 50. An Overseer in a Factory says: "There are some instances where workmen have saved from *four* to *five* thousand dollars in the course of twenty years."

Office No. 77. A Shoemaker states that he has known instances of men who have acquired a competence by their labor.

Office No. 115. A Woollen Spinner says: "I never knew such a person. I know a man, however, who has acquired \$1,200, but has done it by thrift and injustice to his own stomach. It has taken him twelve years to accumulate that sum, and he has denied himself and family many things which I consider the necessaries of life, such as sugar, butter, butcher's meat, eggs, &c. I don't call that living. There are some people can live on what others would starve. I believe in doing justice to the stomach; it is of the utmost importance,—clothing being only of secondary importance. There are men working for this company,—in the finishing department,—who get but a few cents over a dollar per day. How they manage to get along I cannot imagine. There are many women working in the card-room for sixty-five cents a day.

Office No. 48. A Dresser Tender says: "I never knew a man who acquired a competence by working in the mills."

Office No. 18. A Boot Maker says, in reply to question 136: "I do not think there is such a case on record. I would go a great way to see such a man, and get a full account of how he did it."

Office No. 26. "I never heard of one."

Office No. 121. A House Painter says: "No such case could occur."

REMARKS.

A comparison of these replies with those given under the same head in Blank No. 2, shows an agreement in testimony that competence, or such an amount of savings, as would, in its interest, yield an amount equivalent to a working-man's earn-

ings, when at wage labor, has almost never been acquired by such working-man.

APPRENTICES.

137. What are the rules relating to *apprentices*, if there be any, in you trade?

REMARKS.

Answers to this question will be found in the verbatim replies to Blank No. 3, and remarks following.

VERBATIM REPLIES TO BLANK NO. 3.

We give below a few of the most complete and comprehensive replies to the several questions in their order, using the exact language of the respondents. We earnestly request the closest attention to them, as they give, from laboring men themselves, their own several and precise experiences, and mark an evident interest in the absorbing subject, and desire to afford the information asked to the full letter and spirit.

OFFICE No. 52, BLANK No. 3.

A Ship Joiner, working eight hours for \$3.26 per day, in answer to question 51, says :

“To this we say that there has in fact been no material reduction in the duration of physical activity ; a large majority of our working population are on their feet nearly as long as they ever were ; the immense communities of our suburban towns and cities throughout the country must rise between five and half-past five, and have not finished their supper until seven, and half-past seven.

“There had been years of agitation for ten hours in Massachusetts before the first railroad was built, and the reasons which were urged for it have become obsolete in view of the altered conditions of society.

“If ten hours of labor under a broiling sun, upon the roof of a building, or the same duration under the bottom of a ship, swinging a heavy maul is not over work, it would be hard to define the term. Add from three to five miles of foot travel, and, in many cases, a steam or horse-car ride of five or ten miles, then consider the home work of a man in connection with the delicate health of our women, leaving out of our account all public or social duties, and we have enough to fill out quite as strong expressions as have been been used.”

Answer to question No. 52. “I take the ‘Journal’ and ‘Harper’s Monthly,’ and with my present hours’ labor, I find time to read. When I labored ten hours a day, it was only by great resolution

that I forced myself to duty, but with the eight hour system I find time for amusement and recreation."

In answer to question No. 70. "Do you continue in one position at your regular work?" &c., he says: "My trade, as a whole is not open to criticism in this respect, there are exceptions, however, even with us, which are well worthy of note.

"Broken-down men, who have followed job work, are common. Wet docks and roofs are frightful in their effects. Piles is the most prominent evil from this cause. Minute statistical inquiry by medical men, would set in strong light the first item I have named. The draft showed, that more than half the men of military age, were personally disqualified."

In answer to question 74. "The inviting circumstances of mercantile life and its social honors, present the irresistible logic of facts to the youthful mind, as they are contrasted with the narrow conditions of an industrial system as yet untouched by the elevating influences of the times. The unequal balance of our social forces is shown in the fact, that while a very large proportion of those in business are unsuccessful, and by this demonstrate that there are too many engaged in commerce, there is evidently no diminution of the number who crowd the pursuits of trade. What is their motive? The hope of success is prominent, and in many cases it is attained, but this is not the controlling influence. Respectability, even in an humble clerkship, this is the aspiration which finds in the essential circumstances of trade, a sure guarantee of fulfilment. On the one hand, personal cleanliness, and a constant culture of the attractive qualities of our nature; on the other sweat and dirt, and bodily fatigue, and the effect upon the whole morale, benumbing to all the finer sensibilities, of the severe struggle with nature in the exercise of manual force.

"It would seem that the most ordinary exercise of candor requires assent to the statement, 'That instead of a desire to enter the mechanic arts, we have loathing and disgust of their drudgery and degradation.' Nothing but the boldest treatment will be remedial, and retain in healthful and honorable productive relations to themselves and to society, vast numbers of our youth of both sexes. There is little or nothing to be found in our present industry, harmonizing with the development which results from the intellectual and moral forces operating with irresistible power upon our whole community."

In answer to question No. 75, he says: "There is a wide difference in men. My tools cost \$300. My yearly expense for tools is, at least, \$10, besides the ordinary depreciation from use, age, &c."

In answer to question No. 80, "Has new machinery appropriate to your business, been introduced?" he says: "Very large additions have been made within 10 years last past."

To 82 he says: "The workman of the former day had learned his trade, and was educated in doing this, to a certain sense of honorable obligation to his calling, and his associates in it. Before the present facilities of travel were brought about, he knew—by reputation, at least—all, or most of his brother craftsmen who were brought into competition with him, and he felt that if he stood by them, they would stand by him. These workmen have, to a great extent, disappeared. There is now no such obstacle standing in the way of the employer, as was formerly presented by the honorable pride of calling; once he was shut up when he wished to hire, to the few men in his vicinity, who knew and had confidence in each other; he was usually on friendly terms with them, and perhaps in his style of living, not much their superior.

"Now the large employer stands off in conscious independence; because by subdivision, and the absence of instruction, each individual who comes to him for employment, bids in helpless isolation against the whole mass of unemployed labor, always setting towards the great centres of industry on their radiating lines of travel."

In answer to question No. 87, he says: "One of the most pertinent questions you have asked! Severe manual labor develops only the perceptive and executive faculties."

"In the summer of 1844, I performed 13 hours labor, besides 2 hours occupied in travelling and eating. I was youthful and did not break down. The general condition was disastrous. The influence of shortened time has always been, the most day wages, for the shortened time."

In answer to question 113, he says: "I have been somewhat the gainer in the greater permanency of good employment; otherwise I am not so well off as before the war." In answer to question 115, "So far as your observation goes, are the working people of your town habitual attendants on public worship?" &c., he says: "They are not. The children, to a great extent, attend Sabbath schools. They are sought out by the churches, and the parents favor their attendance. Sundays are spent at home, with their wives and families. It is the only time that many have to keep up acquaintance. I believe the lack of income exercises a very large, if not a controlling influence." Of places for mutual instruction and recreation, he says: "A free city library is just established." He also names the "Christian Association, literary gatherings, billiard rooms, besides places directly injurious."

"There is a noticeable tending in good men to remain with a good employer. That is, with a man who practically ignores, as far as possible, in existing circumstances, the law of supply and demand, in his relation to his workmen ; and is willing to pay what men are worth, instead of what he can get them for."

REMARKS.—43. "The house" (i. e., the house he owns,) "is in a block built of brick in the superficial style, common in the suburbs. My wife had owned it two years before I married her, and had spent about \$400 in such improvements as a brick sidewalk, concrete cellar-floor, loam for yard, &c. When I came into it, I devoted most of the leisure I had for a year, to such details as a joiner might be expected to execute. The present situation, only, involves the necessary evils of our location, which is low ground. The street drainage is defective. There are six blocks in the neighborhood, comprising about 100 buildings, to which these remarks will apply. They are all occupied by respectable American families, and about one-quarter (mostly clerks,) own their houses. The houses not owned by the occupants, change tenants very often, and are, to a great extent, in the unthrifty and insalubrious condition which might be expected, from the lack of care I have mentioned. The privies are flat-roofed—except mine,—and are as leaky as sieves, and for the most part, unventilated. The upper part is as hot as a furnace in the summer, and as cold as Greenland in the winter. These exposures are bad for invalids. The blocks overlook each others' yards ; and women complain of the indelicacy. Those of us who own, have built arbors, trellises, &c., to obviate this. There are good drains, but most of the houses are destitute of cess-pools for sink water ; and all their dirty water is thrown from the second story, into the yards, making them offensive to sight and smell, and a perpetual annoyance to the ideal sense. These remarks, and much more in the same direction, apply very generally to our suburban population ; and their bearing on the reduction of the hours of labor, that home might be cared for, is quite evident."

82. "The old system of apprenticeship, shielded labor, by limiting competition. It is clear that capital has a great advantage now, as compared with former times ; because it is not limited to the small number who have learned the business, but by the division of labor, it can draw upon the whole mass of the unemployed. I consider that the present conditions would have been absolutely ruinous to labor, if they had not, to some extent, been balanced by other influences."

70. "There is an absurd industrial requirement, which denies the laborer the privilege of sitting during his working hours. It is not

confined to labor proper, but may be found fully enforced in our large retail shops. Its effect, then, to my knowledge, is ruinous to young women. I unhesitatingly denounce it as barbarous! What would be thought if our school teachers, even with their short day's work, were held to the same rule? I wish to be understood as stating, that instances have been frequent, within my own observation, where workmen were forbidden to sit, when it was quite evident that the same amount of work could be accomplished in a sitting posture. I wish to emphasize the above statement, by an incident, which has recently transpired. An acquaintance of mine, of conservative character, as is shown to me by his opposition to the eight-hour day, told me the following: He is at work as foreman for a man, who has often in his employ, as many as 20 men; but occasionally this number is reduced to such an extent, that the foreman is limited to the duty of journeyman. Both the employer and his foreman have been on terms of friendship for years; yet the bargain between them contained this clause,—If the employer should at any time enter the shop, and find the other sitting, it should not be considered an occasion of variance. As explained to me by my friend, this was a protest on the part of intelligent labor, against its present serf-like conditions.

“To recur again to my own experience. I have stood at the bench six weeks during hot weather, confined to the same spot on the floor. My work was of such a nature as to require nearly my whole force to push a grooving-plane through the hardest of wood; my only relief from this tedious exercise, being a slight and unfrequent occupation in arranging my work, or in going across the shop for a drink of water. I was in good health and more than ordinary vigor, yet the strain upon my strength, and especially upon my lower limbs, was exhausting to the extreme. To sit down for a moment would have excited ridicule among the thoughtless who were at work around me, and would, if observed, have brought stinging reproof from my employer.

“I wish you to take notice of the large amount of time I have lost this year. I was discharged on the 9th of January, and did not get permanent employment until the last of May. Ship-building was much depressed, which accounts for my situation. I call attention to this, to correct the falsity of our literature, which, for the most part, takes it for granted, that there is no occasion, in this country, to be idle. During the 25 years I have worked, I have had only 4 or 5 years of steady employment. This state of things is largely applicable to all the heavy trades.”

[OFFICE No. 85, BLANK No. 3.]

A Spinner, working eleven hours a day at \$1.50 per day, says, in answer to questions 37 to 49:

"I hire a company house or tenement of my employers, of five rooms, in a house of fourteen rooms, in which there are four families of twelve persons in all. I have a share in the shed, twelve feet long and five wide. The premises are dry in all weathers; and I have a garden of six square rods. It is located in an open country place, and I should think ought to be healthy, although the scarlet fever raged here last fall. We have two pumps in common for ten families. I bought wood in September and coal in October, which I think will last into March. I settle my store account once a month, twenty days in advance of the date to which we are paid."

In answer to questions 52 to 54 he says: "I take one weekly paper, and should like to take many more. I can read, smoke and think, when I have not energy to write. I have not time for amusements; yet nature will burst all bonds, and the young folks go to three or four balls a year, at their great physical prostration. The general recreations and amusements are social conversation, (sometimes exciting,) concerts, exhibitions, &c. The men like to get together occasionally, and a pint of liquor is a favorite stimulant to conversation."

In answer to questions 55 to 57 he says: "We have a Sabbath school, a library, a mutual association, (so-called,) exercises, debating questions, declaiming and public reading. Last June the young men started a concert band. The 20th of November, 1869, we also started an evening school, which meets two evenings a week, the band two, and the association one. The Sabbath school is managed by both the employers and employés. The others are managed by the employés. Our employers furnish a hall lighted and warmed; we pay for everything else."

In answer to questions 58 to 61 he says: "There are one hundred persons employed, five jacks, seven sets, or twenty-one woollen cards, and one picker. The length of the room is one hundred and twenty feet; width, fifty feet; height, twelve feet; it is heated by steam-pipes, lighted by gas and ventilated by windows."

In reply to questions 62 to 68 he says: "The old mill was burned down in June; it was built of wood; this one is built of brick. I think there was no loss of life nor injury of person. I lived in and around Lancashire, England, sixteen years, and thirty years in Massachusetts, but do not remember having seen elsewhere a worse planned exit or door-way. Every one of the doors opens in. Twenty years ago, M—— S——, of S——, lost four picker

hands, said to have contracted a disease from the wool. The town of F——, however, forbid him using it, and he sold it to N——, of D——, who sacrificed four or five more lives. In 1864, G—— T——, of D——, had three pickers die inside of thirteen weeks, and my own arm was poisoned so badly that I barely escaped with my life,—with a loss of eleven weeks' time and, I think, full \$200 for expenses."

In reply to question 69 he says: "I think not. I think, however, less than three years ago, J—— Mc—— lost his arm in the service of the Hyde Park Woollen Co., where I then worked. Robert Blakie was superintendent. He said Mc—— should never want for a day's work while he had one to give. I saw him at work there a year ago."

In reply to questions 70 to 75 he says: "Spinners have to wear plasters on their backs; I have worn them often. Exhaustion renders us liable to every prevalent disease. When, from exhaustion, or weakness, or any other cause, a spinner falls behind in quality as well as quantity, he is discharged. The American system of corporation uses up humanity with as little compunction as it does any kind of stock. I worked nine years in one room."

In reply to questions 91 to 99 he says: "In 1857, I was shoe-making, and engaged in the great strike. It lasted, I think, about eight weeks. The workmen not only demanded increased pay, but refused to take orders on the stores for pay. When trade revived the employers acceded to our terms, and cash has been paid for work ever since. It resulted in a universal consciousness of power, a spreading of the idea that sooner or later, the workingmen will have to organize their own industry; in short, it thoroughly prepared the way for the organization known as Crispins. I never was in favor of a strike, but when once engaged I fight to the end. We had no union. Some little begging was done, a great deal of suffering borne, and a large amount of debt incurred. I believe the political economist's idea of loss by strikes is all *bosh*! At this time the woollen machinery is producing at least one-sixth less than its capacity. Will you define the difference between a total suspension of labor for one month through a strike, or the whole producing one-sixth less for six months from some other cause. The power to produce exceeds the demand, hence a glut."

In reply to questions Nos. 98 and 111, Have you ever been discharged for participating in any labor reform movement? he says: "Yes; and on this hangs a tale that you can obtain by sending for my person." No. 111: "I have often had to help shop-mates and neighbors out of deep distress."

In answer to the question, "What influence, in your opinion, has factory work upon the health and habits of children and young women?" he says: "I think it stints their growth, and kills out any desire for mental improvement, and renders them unfit for any effort greater than is required to read the 'New York Ledger.'"

In answer to question 135 he says: "In Hyde Park I learned, that with a force of 300 hands, they averaged changing 304 annually."

REMARKS.—"The cause of reduction of help is more the result of a deterioration of material caused by reducing the doubling, as from 12,000 to 2,000 in the Boott Corporation, in Lowell, in 1842, and is now reduced to 300 in some places, affecting thereby the strength of the cloth manufactured."

No. 121. "I will cite one instance in this town, of a man about forty-three or forty-four years of age, (Irish,) with a strong healthy wife and four children,—two of them working at weaving, he appropriating their earnings. The man works during the day, and saws wood at night for his neighbors. His wife takes in, and goes out washing, and does the family work. I think they could read and write, but had no culture. He is the only one that is saving.

"In conversation with an agent of one of the largest woollen manufactories in the State, he told me that they always looked after the most intelligent of their workmen, and if they saw any signs of organization, or anything that would come in conflict with their interest, they were discharged without knowing the reason; and it would be difficult for them to find employment in any factory in that vicinity.

"In my blank, in answer to question 66, I gave information to the Bureau of the sudden death of twelve picker hands. I think that ten of these deaths was the result of the criminal avarice of their employers. I now present a few cases of violent death, somewhat different from those already cited. First, a young man named Wm. —, who had never worked in a factory, or among machinery, was hired as a second hand in a small woollen factory in —, Massachusetts. There are two reasons for hiring such an improper person in so important a position. First, he was brother to the overseer's wife; and secondly, he could be hired cheap. He was there a few days only, when, in putting on a belt, that had to be put on with the foot, he got his foot caught and was carried round the shaft, and his brains dashed out against the ceiling; his death was so sudden that the general impression prevailed, that he never knew what hurt him.

"Again, there is a corporation in —, Massachusetts, that is

believed to be full of sympathy for aged and indigent men ; at any rate it employs quite a number of such. I believe it will be worth while to cite one case. An old man was employed as teamster by a flour and grain dealer on Market Street. He was discharged because he was considered too old. In his distress, he applied to this corporation, and was employed to work on a waste picker. He was there but a short time before he was caught and killed ; being torn to pieces. He was the third person killed by this machine. In both these cases it was needful that experienced persons should have been employed ; but they would have demanded greater compensation. These are cited only as samples of what is of too frequent occurrence. Do you wonder that investigation is asked for the future ? That we ask that, hereafter, when an accident occurs destroying life or limb, the business of the place shall be instantly stopped, and everything left just where the accident occurred, and the doors securely fastened, until there has been a legal investigation ?

“ Before I proceed to answer your questions, from 98 to 107, both included, allow me to call your attention to the fact that as industry is at present organized, *factory hands are no party to any contract between them and their employers.* It is all dictation on the one side, and choice between submission and starvation on the other ; and this august relation between labor and capital is productive of the most outrageous injustice. Allow me to cite a few cases to illustrate this position. Not two years ago, a young man spinning in the same room with me, was fined ten dollars under the following circumstances. He had given to him, a lot of roping, which had been prepared to spin five-run-filling. A part was so spun, and then he was ordered to spin the remainder two and a half or three-run. Of course, he spoiled the yarn, and the overseer fined him *ten dollars*, but changed the roping-driving-pulley from nine to six inches diameter, thereby loosening the speed one-third. Now, if the fault was in the spinner, why did he change the pulley ? If in the pulley, why did he fine the spinner ? I answer, simply because he must remove all blame from himself.

“ Another case. A first-class workman was given a lot of three colors to be twisted. He no sooner got fairly started, than he discovered that one of the colors was what is called ‘ *caught and broke.*’ He called the attention of the overseer to it, and was told to do the best he could with it. Some of the damaged work would have escaped detection with any sort of their experienced hands—of course, some escaped—he being alone ; for this he was discharged, and his pay stopped, amounting to from sixty to eighty dollars.

"Within a few weeks I have known the following cases. A number of weavers have had warps so bad, that in their efforts to make good work, they have earned only about half their usual wages; and notwithstanding all their care, one was fined \$3; another, \$5; the last only earned \$12. I think she worked twenty-six days, and had drawn \$2 to pay her tuition to an evening school, and for some books; so she had \$5 left for her father, who had been sick a-bed about three months. Do you wonder at distress? If it was proper to fine for bad work, was it less so to compensate for lost time in making good work out of bad material?

"One case more, somewhat different, but none the less mean. It is sometimes necessary for an overseer to know the length of a *run*, the number of grains in a pound avoirdupois, and to make their own divisions of each, to rise their yarn. Now, there is a balance used—I think Fairbanks & Co.'s—well, I have seen an overseer filling this balance when it marked six runs, so that it marked only five runs after the filling; and the men were paid by the pound. This was equal to a reduction of about sixteen per cent. Now would they have dared to fill the balance that they sold that yarn by thus fraudulently in the presence of the buyer? And why not? Because the buyer is acknowledged a party to the contract. I should have said that while the overseer filled the balance, the superintendent looked on. All the parties here implicated, are professing Christians and Sabbath School teachers, or superintendents, and church members. None, I think, will dispute that the above conduct is calculated to beget and perpetuate infidelity and immorality among the employés."

98. "That employers never mean to let you say that you were discharged for being connected with 'Union,' 'Labor Reforms,' or anything else, unless they have mind to, is well understood among workmen; yet I have heard an overseer boast that he had discharged a spinner, and then had him turned out of a number of other places, without knowing the why or the wherefore, and that after having followed him six months, he let him go.

"Again, I heard a mill-owner state, that a firm of Woollen Machine Builders (he named the firm) followed some hands and succeeded in getting them turned out. This he boastingly approved of. Again: I was once kept from half-past six to half-past eleven, A. M., a part of the time in the counting-room with the superintendent, and a part of the time with my own overseer, in his office. The cause of this long interview was, the night before the spinners held a meeting, and I addressed them on the nature and necessity of a union. They adopted a temporary constitution. The object of the

interview on the part of the superintendent and others, was to induce or force me to make a clean breast of matters, by showing the constitution, and letting them see the names, &c., in all of which they signally failed. True, they succeeded in knocking the lodge into a stupor, so like death, that it will continue to make believe dead, until the time comes in God's providence, when American citizens can openly defy any power to prevent them from exercising their high privileges, and performing their bounden duty in investigating every question that affects the public weal.

"At that interview, when alone with the overseer, he told me that if it should be decided to discharge me, it would be by stopping my card, or some such thing; that it would not be a direct discharge."

100. "*Agents have also been discharged without ever knowing the cause.*"

103. "From 1841 to 1851 I worked in the cotton carding rooms. The mills then averaged running seventy-eight hours per week, the year round; the card something less, I cannot say how much; should think from eight to nine hours less. I then went to jack or woollen spinning, and worked five years with such intermissions as exhaustion or sickness forced upon me. I think we then averaged seventy-two hours per week the year round, with one exception. I worked in a place where I had eight satinet looms to supply with woofs, and chose my own hours. I worked about nine hours per day, and did more work than had been done before, though my predecessors had worked fourteen hours a day. I think the difference was owing to the bargain that I made, which was, that if I kept the looms going, the employer must not interfere with my time."

104. "The effect of long hours was deplorably bad in every respect. But the hands in cotton mills did not tend so much machinery, yet they looked worse, and that is saying a great deal. Woollen spinners tend the same now as then; that is, one jack, but there are more than two hundred and forty spindle jacks, and less than two hundred, now than then."

105. "Earnings are about the same for sixty-six hours per week that they were for seventy-eight hours per week; and for the best of reasons, we do quite as much, if not more work."

106. "There is a more general disposition to read newspapers, and to look into the necessity of working less hours than we do. The reasons for a reduction of the hours of labor are manifold. That which will influence political economists most, and move workers in general, is contained in the following facts. In the winter of 1866 and 1867, the —— Company, Massachusetts, run what they called three-quarter time; about eight and one quarter hours per day. The

first month, the weavers and spinners greatly exceeded the amount of work ever turned off in the same number of hours. The second month, and the remainder of the winter, the weavers did as much work in eight and a quarter hours as they had heretofore done in eleven hours, and the spinners did very near as much. The next winter the mill again run three-quarters time with the same result. Spinners were paid by the pound, and weavers by the yard. In conversation with the superintendent he admitted the above to be true; that he had saved a great deal in power, heating and lighting; his only trouble was with the day hands, who complained because they had to do as much work for three-fourths time as they ever had in full time. I suggested that to pay full time wages would remove the difficulty. He said 'that could not be done.' I had four weavers boarding with me, and their unanimous voice was, that the eight-hour rule would be one of the greatest blessings that could possibly be enjoyed by factory girls, and cost nothing; a result entirely different from what they had hitherto supposed. Oh, men of culture! you know better than I can depict, the blessings of health and intellectual culture, and if the producers are not entitled to the means of culture, moral and intellectual, then human equality is a farce, and the foundation of our government insecure.

"In this connection, I would ask, what is meant by the permanent prosperity of the State? Is it that *ten* may accumulate, while *millions* starve? Then go on as you are. Continue to work men, women and children as long as they can stand, pay them the smallest pittance possible, and when a glut comes, and their labor is not profitable, let them starve. Or else debase them to pauperism; and let the sweetest music to them be the clang of the charity soup dish. But if it mean that the whole people shall be elevated, and that their physical, mental and moral natures, shall receive the highest development attainable, then reduce the hours of labor until all our laborers are employed the year round. Experience will teach where to stop. Thus, by making all producers, all will become consumers. Our crowded cities will then be relieved of squalid poverty, with its consequent ignorance, debasement and vice. I believe a new organization of industry will grow out of efforts in this direction, that will result in the invention of labor-saving machinery, and that will reduce the hours of labor to such a *minimum*, that it will be a pleasure only to attend them."

OFFICE No. 70, BLANK No. 3.

A Ship Joiner, working eight hours a day for \$3.26 says, in answer to question 32: "I own the house I live in, and paid \$1,100

for it. Was *fourteen years* earning the purchase money. I took possession in May, 1854, and paid the last dollar November, 1869. For several years I was sick and earned nothing.

"I lay in sufficient fuel for winter, and keep it in the cellar. I pay cash for household supplies. I have no store bill; if I had, I should never have paid for the little house over my head. I think a store bill one of the greatest curses that afflict working people.

"I live nearly a mile from my work, and it takes about forty minutes to go to and from my work. I go but twice, morning and night. We have but forty-five minutes for dinner, which compels many to eat a cold one; which is a source of much evil to working people.

"I take several newspapers and periodicals, but have but little time to read them. There is considerable difference between time and condition. Time is always passing, but we cannot always use it. My time for reading is in the morning; although I have more time for reading in the evening; but the condition after a day's work is not one that is suitable for much mental labor. I could read stories after work, but that I consider a waste of time. We see the stories we read, enacted about us every day. Working people are like all others, when tired they want such amusements and recreations as will not tax the energies. The working men with whom I am associated, prefer intellectual amusements.

"The accidents incident to our business are broken bones, bruises and cuts, which are prevented by being careful; but we are liable to accidents from other causes, such as falls, or things falling upon us. One man fell into the hold of the ship upon which I was at work, and narrowly escaped a broken leg, but got off with a bruised foot, which lasted about five weeks. These accidents are wholly at our expense."

In answer to question No. 69, he says: "Government knows no one who does not answer to his name at the calling of the roll. A man may be exerting himself and risking his life for the purpose of forwarding the work, but if he meets with an accident, government does not know him. Twice I have been injured on my work, and have been compelled in consequence to lay by for weeks. There is nothing for any one unless he can answer to his name. In many parts of the trade, the position of the body is very much cramped, and stiff joints and rheumatism are the consequence.

"I know of no particular disease incident to the trade; but there is great injury to the eyes from working by lamp-light upon government vessels, as much of the work under docks is done by lamp-

light. I have known many men whose eyesight prematurely failed in consequence of so much artificial light.

"I served a regular apprenticeship. I do not teach my son the trade I follow, nor do I desire him to follow it.

"A good chest of tools is worth from two to three hundred dollars. Some men bought tools to the amount of five hundred dollars, and but few have less than one hundred dollars' worth. We are frequently losing and buying tools."

In answer to question No. 80, he says: "There has been added to the machinery of the joiners' shop, one morticing machine that will do the work of more than ten men. There is also a boring apparatus attached to the boring machine, which does a large amount of work and saves much labor. There are two planing machines that have been added, and a jig-saw, and I think, a lathe, two circular saws and a tenon machine, all within ten years; and with this machinery, I believe the capacity of the shop for labor to be doubled.

"Most of the work done by joiners requires the exercise of the mind continually; for every new job is a problem to be worked out, and I believe more difficult than in many mercantile transactions. It is the journeyman who has to do the thinking connected with the details of the piece of work upon which he is employed."

In answer to question 90, he says: "I do not think of any new trades that have sprung up, but the house carpenter's trade has been divided into four distinct trades. Once, when a boy learned a trade, he learned the whole; now he only learns one branch, such as stair-building, sash, blind and door making, framing, or finishing.

"From 1838 to 1852, fourteen years, I worked twelve hours a day. The effect was injurious. The effect of shortened time upon those with whom I am acquainted, has been of great benefit, both moral and physical. They pay more attention to their personal appearance, and you find them oftener in the churches and lecture rooms. Their families, also, show it in their personal appearance; men are more ambitious."

In answer to question 110, he says: "I have known sober and industrious men suffer for the want of the necessities of life from the lack of work, and had to be helped by their friends.

"I have been looking over the prices of groceries and provisions before the war, and I find that the prices have about doubled, while my wages have been increased only about sixty-three per cent. The highest wages I received before the war was two dollars per day. I now receive three dollars and twenty-six cents.

"I think most of the working people attend public worship, but many of them attend free churches. It is a general complaint

among them that they cannot afford to attend church, for the reason that pew rent is high, and they cannot afford to dress well enough, for respectability goes with good clothes in a church now-a-days. I think most of the children attend Sunday school. The Young Men's Christian Association has recently opened a reading-room."

In answer to question 119, he says: "The Charlestown Working-men's Coöperative Association started September, 1864, and is now in successful operation."

In reply to question No. 136, he says: "I have tried to think of one, but cannot. I have inquired of many persons upon this point, and have received the same reply from all, viz., *they know of none who have acquired enough to live without work*. Many working-men have saved a little, but not enough to last long after they cease to earn."

REMARKS.—"In answer to question No. 69, I have said, that government did not know any one who did not answer to his name. I should have stated that when a man is hurt, the surgeon of the yard will dress his wounds. And after he has been conveyed to his home will sometimes attend him there, but is under no obligation to do so. In answer to No. 23, I say, I have saved \$400. And in answer to 113, I say, that the prices for provisions and groceries have nearly doubled. You will naturally ask, then how could you save? I answer, by denying myself in order to meet an obligation."

OFFICE No. 37, BLANK No. 3.

A Joiner and Carpenter working ten hours a day, at \$3.26 a day, says: "I take three weeklies and one daily paper, and read them Sundays and evenings. Take time to attend a few lectures, but feel too tired after work to recreate much."

In reply to question 69, he says: "Falling might be prevented, if employers thought as much of the value of the employé's life, as they do of what they accumulate from his labor. I have known but very few employers contribute to the party injured, and never knew one to assist in paying funeral expenses. We inhale a great deal of dust in finishing some kinds of wood, and I find a great many afflicted with catarrh and consumptive tendencies. The average length of life in our trade I think is about forty-five years."

REMARKS.—"The condition of most depositors in savings banks, I am informed, is this: They have but little or no education; intelligence very limited; social habits bad; home life but a few degrees above the animal, with no aspirations for anything but to gratify their lusts for gain, their appetite for stimulants, such as strong drinks, tobacco, &c. This applies to the working portion.

"The coöperative stores, of which there are two, both under the same manager, have paid in dividends to stockholders and patrons, some fifteen thousand dollars."

Question 104. "The effect of working so long made me so weary when night came, I cared for nothing but to go to my couch, and then I was too tired to sleep well. I awoke in the morning unrefreshed and tired. My fellow-workmen cared for but little, except something to stimulate and their sleep; and many of them were worn out at the age of thirty-five. Our wages then were \$1.50 per day.

"While employed by government we have to work eight hours and twenty minutes for a day's work; and in connection with this I will say, it is the general opinion of the workmen employed at the Navy Yard that as much, or more work is being done during a day of eight hours, than was ever accomplished when we were required to work ten hours for a day's labor, Senator Morrill to the contrary notwithstanding; and although we are defrauded out of twenty minutes each day, the workmen labor cheerfully and with a will."

Question 106. "I can say from personal experience and observation, that having leisure is beneficial in the increase of wages; for it is a rule, without exception, I am sure, that those who work the least number of hours get the most pay. And I have always found that those who worked the most hours were the most dissipated, caring but little for their intellectual improvement.

"In answer to question 110, I have to say, I know of good workmen who are now out of employment and in want. One man, an industrious and temperate carpenter, told me that he has had no work for the four weeks past, and he has nine in his family. I have known good workmen, and moral men too, going about the streets hungry for the want of the proceeds of labor; and in considerable number of such cases it is certainly unjust, when those who have accumulated property from the proceeds of their labor, refuse to give them a chance to live, a chance to work! We certainly need such a reduction in the hours of labor as will enable the idle and willing workers to obtain work. Again I remark, that while working at a furniture establishment last winter, I became cognizant of some of the abuses of the proprietors towards their apprentices whom they employed (eighteen or twenty in number). Three or four months of their pay was retained, (\$3.50 per week,) to compel them to be obedient and serve out their time. They were also put to drudgery, and some of them let to mean piece-workers, who drove the greatest possible amount of work out of them. If they

became dissatisfied and left, or if they were discharged, their employers refused to pay what was due them, and their guardians had to get it by lawsuits, or else lose it. Some of these apprentices earned for their employers twenty dollars per week."

Question 101. "I am sure that shortening the time has added to the skill of the workmen and benefited me educationally, and made me no worse in a moral sense. It has given me time for social enjoyments, and my fellow-workmen take more interest in all that conduces to the welfare of their fellow-beings.

"In answer to part of question No. 74, he remarks: It is a common saying among mechanics that none of their sons shall learn mechanical trades if they can help it. This arises from a feeling that there is but little chance of a mechanic being anything but a drudge. In fact, when we look around and find none who have labored for a large number of years able to retire on the accumulation of their labor, what can be the encouragement for an aspiring man? He has nothing to hope for but a life of poverty and sometimes pinching want.

"My observations have been that corporations and establishments conducted on a large scale are more exacting and arbitrary than smaller ones. For instance, I am told that at B—— & H——'s, E—— C——, they find by observation, how much the quickest workmen can do, and then compel the other workmen to do as much, or else they reduce their day's pay in ratio. At H——'s establishment, C——, they employ all the Germans they can get in order to keep wages low, and when an improvement is made, which adds to the labor, nothing is added to the price of the piece-work. One man told me, that three years ago he could earn twice as much as now on the same article, the difference being the improvement made, without adding to the price for making. In fact, the general rule seems to be, not how much employes need, but how little can the employers get their services for. A shameful state of things."

OFFICE No. 14, BLANK No. 3.

Upper Leather Cutter. 38. "I do not own any real estate. I hire five rooms; four of them are in the second story, and one of them in the attic."

40. "I have the use of one shed, a general use of the yard, and as much of the cellar as I choose to occupy."

41. "The yard is not inclosed by a fence."

43. "It is very poorly drained."

44. "The house was built some sixty years since; there has been no improvement since."

45. "It is situated on elevated ground; and notwithstanding the soil is cold and wet, it is a very healthy neighborhood."

47. "By a good well of water, and pump in the yard; there is no pump in the house."

48. "I purchase my fuel in sufficient quantities—coal and wood, to last the year through, and it is kept in the shed."

49. "I pay cash for everything, which I consider by far the best way."

50. "I live one mile and one quarter from my work, and I walk that distance to and from my work, every day I labor."

51. "About one half-hour."

52. "I take one daily paper—'The Evening Journal,' one weekly paper and two monthly periodicals."

53. "I have no time, with the exception of the holidays."

54. "In this town, as in all others, there is a great difference in the habits and tastes of the working classes; some prefer Lyceum lectures, while I think a great majority do not, but prefer theatrical performances, bowling and billiard saloons, &c. In the summer season, base ball is the favorite amusement."

58. "Two hundred at least. In the room in which I work, there are employed 9 men and 14 women."

59. "About 40 feet long, 32 feet wide, 8 feet high; very low indeed."

60. "The room is heated by steam, lighted in the evening by kerosene lamps, and the only ventilation to be had, is by the windows and door; and as the benches on which we work are close by the windows, it is impossible to use them a great portion of the time."

64. "There is only one stairway, and the windows, and we are in the second story."

66. "In the sole-leather room, accidents frequently occur."

70. "I do. The position is a standing one all the time, cutting leather on a bench some $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, bending over that all the time 10 hours a day; there can be no change of position; one cannot sit and work at my trade."

71. "Yes. I have a lameness across my stomach almost all the year."

72. "I have known several to ruin their health by working at my trade; this very year, in my room, one has ruined his health by being taken with bleeding at the lungs, caused by cutting leather."

It is a continual draw across the chest, and I think that any one that has not the best of lungs cannot continue to work at the trade. It would be a great improvement if the rooms were even decently ventilated, but in most shops there is not the least attention paid to that very important subject."

74. "I learned my trade before I attained my majority, by serving 3 years as an apprentice. My sons are very young yet, but I never intend to learn them my trade, for I don't consider it a healthy one."

75. "There is no expense for tools, as the manufacturer furnishes everything."

80. "Nothing but sewing-machines. No machinery has yet been invented that has been of any benefit to our part of the trade, (upper leathers)."

86. "Almost all cutters complain of dizziness, pains in the head, &c., but I lay it all to lack of ventilation. There is one cutter in my room that has worked at the trade 36 years."

87. "I don't know as I can answer that; the mere physical labor is not hard, if there could be any change. It is mostly calculation to see how many pairs of uppers one can get out of a side of leather. A great many never can learn the trade."

90. "Yes; a Hat Factory, and Leather Board Factory."

91. "Never. I don't believe in strikes."

103, 104, 105. "Yes. Before the war, the rule was from 7 to 12, A. M., and from 1 to 5, P. M., then half-hour for supper, then return and work until 7 or 7½. When I returned from the army, I found the change as it now exists. My health was really ruined when I enlisted in 1861; it is much better since. I don't think I should have lived thus long if I had not gone out of the shop. Everything has been on the invention order since the war, but I think wages are comparatively lower than they were before the war; the hours of labor are less, so I am not clear which cause it is owing to."

108. "About every one that lives in what he calls his own house, is in debt!"

109. "Intemperance, living beyond their means, gambling, &c.; some get tired of paying high rents, and so they build a house before they have half enough to build with; but those are mostly getting out of debt."

110. "Very seldom; only from accidents or sickness."

111. "Occasionally we have a subscription paper passed around for them."

113. "There is but very few in this town that get as good wages

as I do that work at my trade, and I think in my case the proportion is nearly equal."

114. "In 1861, when I left for the war, I was getting first class price—\$45 per month; when I went to work again the first of September, 1865, I got \$3 per day; and I have received that price in 1866-67-68, with the exception of a few months, when I was cut down to \$2.75 per day. This year I have done better; I have received enough more this year to make my pay average \$3 per day since the war."

115. "They do not, but as a general rule their wives and children do. The reason I have heard generally is, that they work so hard during the week, that they prefer staying at home to rest themselves."

116. "Some pass the day, in fine weather, in strolling over the fields, and around the lake, bathing, &c.; some obtain books from the library, and pass most of the day reading. Among the native population we have a very quiet Sabbath."

117. "There is a Young Men's Christian Association Reading-room, in which a good variety of papers and periodicals are kept; open every week, day and evening."

123. "There has never been any manufacturing done in this town on that principle, but I think it will be tried before long."

135. "If the manufacturer and cutter are both satisfied, they seldom change, for it is for the interest of the manufacturer not to change his cutters if he can help it; my employer has one man who has worked for him 14 years. I have averaged about 4 years each at the different shops where I have worked, and in each case I left because the firms either dissolved or failed."

136. "Never heard of such a case, and don't think I should if I live 100 years."

137. "When I was an apprentice, I got \$200 for three years time, and three months' schooling; but now they don't usually take apprentices until they get through attending school, and then for a shorter time—but one year, or one and a half is the rule; they get so much a month for the first six months, so much additional for the next six, and after that nearly as much as any cutter."

REMARKS.—"In making up my expense for the year 1869, I find that I cannot do it without a great deal of trouble, according to your form. For instance, in keeping my accounts on one page of my book, I put under the heading of groceries, all that we eat and drink; also the kerosene we burned, which item you will see I have deducted from the amount of groceries.

"On the other page of my book, I have put all the other ex-

penses, rent, clothes, fuel, doctor's bill, charity, books, stationery, &c. By that account, which I have looked over with care, I have made an estimate of the different items, so as to be able to fill out your blank correctly, or nearly so. It is very nearly correct. I could, if I had time, make it out exactly correct, but I imagine it will be near enough for the purpose for which you sent it.

“In regard to the house rent, which is very high in this town, it is not fair to judge others by mine. I am some distance from the centre of the town, and in an old house. I remain here for family reasons. I have written this from a sense of duty, in a strictly confidential way. I do not wish my name used in any manner.”

GENERAL REMARKS MADE BY EMPLOYEES.

Under the head of REMARKS in Blank No. 3, we find the following interesting matter by various parties, each discussing specialities under the general subject with which his own observation has rendered him familiar, and the importance of which seems prominent from his point of view.

Office No. 64. A Machinist. Questions Nos. 80 and 82, put together, would read something as follows: Has new machinery made it difficult or impracticable for persons in your department of labor to go into business on their own account? This is exactly the tendency, as I can testify from actual experience, as well as from observation; and the new machinery, combined with many other less easily described advantages possessed by large establishments, renders the attempt at small ventures by men of little means extremely hazardous. Without attempting to collect for description specimen cases of this sort, three instances in point bolt in at once upon my mind. The parties failed in attempting to set up for themselves, and are again at work by the day for other employers. Small shops require more capital in proportion to the number working than large establishments. The second man hired does not mean that *twice* as much money must be invested in machinery before he can proceed. Of course, each succeeding helper must have some additional tools, but not as many in value as were required to fit up the man who begins first and alone. Large firms can hire help to better advantage than small ones. The mass of workingmen like to feel that their situations are as permanent as possible, and this they cannot do when employed in a small shop. For one of limited means to secure the services of an expert and really valuable assistant, extra considerations must be offered, and even these will not retain such labor if the work seems likely to fail. The highly paid assistant hired in this small way, must be frequently employed upon a class of work which in a large shop would be done by the most unskilled, inexperienced and, of course,

poorly paid labor; and the competition at this point finds you obliged to *charge* the parties patronizing your little establishment only as much as it would have cost if carried elsewhere, while you are *paying* extra high wages. The inevitable familiarity under such narrow circumstances between employer and employed may lead to a sort of contempt; and occasionally you are disturbed by the discovery that your one or principal hired man, plans to fit out a small shop of his own, and to take with him the little work you have barely succeeded in securing for yourself. He has learned how it was originally obtained, has become acquainted with the parties concerned, knows your weak points, &c. From all these petty annoyances the wealthy manufacturer is, of course, exempt.

The fact that in very many cases work *can* be done to much better advantage in a large manufactory than a small one, is more generally observed than the opposite fact, viz., that in a small shop, most work out of the regular line *will* be done with more care and thoroughness, and even cheaper sometimes, than in the largest establishments. The man who takes a certain class of work to a large workshop in preference to a small one, does not reflect that the hireling who actually does the job, may have no interest or pride in its successful completion. He is thinking of the many curious, complete machines at hand, but which are not applied, because it will not pay to adjust them to his single piece. He fancies they will be, however, and this fact tells against us 'small-fisted' manufacturers.

To obtain machinery and stock for an humble beginning costs more in proportion than is paid by those who are better able to buy. It is not sufficient to satisfy the dealer of our day that you pay cash on delivery for your meagre purchases. There must be so much of an appearance of reserved wealth as to argue that you are coming again, if well treated, to obtain the very *lowest* figure. The elaborate and costly machinery, and the long standing of certain capitalists, has given them, practically, a monopoly of whole departments of manufacturing. Locomotive, marine and stationary engines, gun work, nearly all cotton and woollen machinery, lathes and planes, printing presses, sewing machines, watch and clock manufacturing, are all beyond our reach. A wish frequently expressed by men of limited means is for the exclusive right to manufacture, in a small way, some successful patent, but the improvements and infringements that more and more beset every really valuable invention, frequently drive the patentees, or the owners, to the courts to defend their claims, where success again turns largely upon the amount of money at ready command. All inventions that

supersede hand-craft, not only make less valuable or entirely valueless, the skilled labor that it supplants, but it increases the modern necessity of beginning business upon a larger capital—enough larger, of course, to buy one of the new machines.

An unnatural stimulus was given for a time, to the invention of labor-saving machinery, by withdrawing from the North so large a number of workers as soldiers in the war for the suppression of the slaveholders' rebellion. One of the conditions essential to the success of any invention is, that the work be performed cheaper than by the hand labor hitherto employed. The machines must cost enough less, or the ready labor enough more, to make the investment profitable. Machinery that would pay in America, where wages are two or three dollars per day, would be run at a loss in India, in competition with wages at ten cents a day.

The steam-ploughs already invented, would supersede horse and ox ploughing in America, if wages should run up beyond a certain point; and as a gradual rise in wages has been going on, and may continue with the progress in civilization, and as inventive genius will gradually reduce the cost of making and running the steam-plough, the time seems rapidly approaching when these two conditions will meet and pass each, and the old-fashioned way of tilling the land will no longer pay.

The mowing, reaping, raking and cultivating machines, already indispensable upon the farm, since it has become cheaper to buy and run them than to hire the dearer labor, are fast ranking the farm-owner in distinction from the farm-laborer, among the capitalists. Very much more capital is now required to buy, stock, equip and run a farm, than was necessary twenty years ago; and when, finally, steam shall supersede animal power in ploughing, the small farmers of to-day will be absorbed by corporate capital, as surely as improvements in manufacturing have nearly absorbed the mechanics of twenty years ago. The cloth woven by the old hand weaver in competition with the power loom, would keep one as warm as the cloth produced by steam; and the corn and potatoes cultivated by hand labor in competition with the appliances of steam, will satisfy hunger; but cloth and food produced under such circumstances is worth nothing, practically, to *sell*! Its *exchangeable* value is gone. The weaver must have food, and the farmer must have cloth, and they will both buy of the capitalist when his machinery enables him to undersell hand production, leaving each the other to nearly perish for the want of that which he cannot have, unless the old alternative is returned to, of every man becoming his own tailor, farmer, carpenter, shoemaker, &c.

The alternative accepted by the masses, has been to ask those who own or control the machinery, for leave to toil for them.

The employment of large numbers of operatives and mechanics by a single manager, equalizes wages more and more to the level which will barely enable them to live; and so while the amount of capital required to begin business in the most humble way is constantly increasing, the opportunities of earning and saving, over and above the regular rates of living, are constantly decreasing. More and more perfect machinery means less and less intelligence required to operate it; and as the mass of ignorant foreign labor, now utilized by American enterprise, has been accustomed to a less expensive style of living, it follows that we must adopt the same standard, or turn to other employments; and many American mechanics are thus driven into almost deadly competition with each other, that they may avoid the still lower rate of wages which foreign labor thankfully accepts.

If the fact that the world's migration sets largely towards this country, is a just criticism upon the institutions and governments of the Old World, then the exodus of so many artisans from their lifelong vocations into the small shop and saloon-keeping class, is equally suggestive. At any rate, it would be interesting to know how many carpenters, machinists, painters, shoemakers, masons, moulders, tailors, bookbinders, printers, and mechanics, generally, are now acting as drummers, agents, clerks, &c.

As year by year the difficulty increases of lifting one's self out of the vassalage of the present industrial system, the situation, to a man of sensibility and independence, is growing more and more intolerable. Had we been consulted as to the punishment to be inflicted upon the leaders of the Southern Rebellion, our worst sentence would have been banishment to a Massachusetts' Factory, with the long hours, low wages, and hopeless social condition of an average operative.

Now we do not complain that inventions multiply,—that machinery and a division of labor is superseding the necessity and the value of skilled workmanship, or that enormous manufactories are absorbing the small work-shops; and when driven, through force of competition, into the service of corporate wealth, we can even bear with philosophical patience the remorseless discipline which the successful management of large masses of workers requires; for an "industrial vassalage" does not make scrupulous and devoted employés, and the rules that must be made for some, must be observed by others who never needed them, or the discipline fails. No individual employer can afford to lead in any essential change

in wages, hours or regulations. Intelligent workmen understand all this, and more than is here expressed.

The unpardonable sin of the employing classes is their infamous interference, through their enormous and utterly irresponsible power, with the personal opinions and conduct of their operatives after the day's work is concluded. We claim that our labor earns, at least, the right to express our opinions upon any question to whomever we can find to listen, subject only to the laws and courts.

If this right was carefully respected and guarded by the wealthy and employing class, the problem of a truer relation of labor and capital would soon be solved. This can never be, however, and we may as well work on the plan that between the capitalist and laborer of the present industrial system there is an "irrepressible conflict," which will last, until through vast social changes, the two classes, as such, disappear from society and the laborer and capitalist shall become one.

Capitalists will not confine themselves to their legitimate function, viz., the organization of labor for the single purposes of production—the building of houses, steamships and railroads, the manufacture of cotton cloth, watches, books, sewing machines, clocks, &c.

Finding themselves able to control vast bodies of men who have voices and votes, they follow them out to their public and private associations, the church, caucus, and at the polls, where as employers they have no business whatever, and with the menace of "*a discharge*" in their plantation or counting-room manners, they govern and control the votes and conduct of thousands of Massachusetts working men.

They largely control the expression of the pulpit and the daily press, as well as the nominations made for presidents, governors and representatives, and not unfrequently the spectacle is presented to the public, of an employer's own election secured through his "influence" with his numerous employés.

Of course, the interference is not so open and advertised in Massachusetts as in Virginia, where the ex-slaveholder publishes in the local papers his threat to discharge all who vote in opposition to his wishes. The arbitrary exercise of the power of discharge is beyond the reach of legislation, or of public opinion even, as the reason given may be anything the employer pleases.

With absolute and irresponsible power on the one side, and no choice left the hireling but obedience, we are from time to time reminded that there is no antagonism between capital and labor, and there are generous and gentlemanly employers enough who do not

interfere, to keep the relation in good repute, as Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and the more considerate slaveholders, helped to give a respectable seeming to chattel slavery by their marked kindness and care for their slaves.

Who wants to be constantly burdened with the thought that his situation is retained, notwithstanding obnoxious associations outside, because the employer's sense of honor and justice is too acute to take advantage of his absolute power?

The dreaded discharge means, time lost in hunting for a new situation and a new tenement; the vexation and expense of moving household furniture, children taken out of school when new books have been bought and fresh interest has been excited in their studies, and the breaking up of long-cherished associations which are dearer than can be expressed by a working-man. The man who has formed no local or personal attachments is one of the "dangerous classes."

The fact that multiplied invention, the division of labor, and the centralization of wealth, is fast absorbing the small shop owners, is admitted by many of our most sincere friends; as well as the hardship of being driven into the service of large capitalists and compelled to submit to their necessary and unnecessary discipline and usurpations; and they are constantly urging as a remedy the feasibility of a number of working-men combining their capital and labor, and forming a coöperative manufactory of their own, and thus competing with the large wholesale concerns.

The hard practical necessities of business are forgotten by such counsellors, though it is undoubtedly true that by easy and almost imperceptible stages to the masses, coöperative production will eventually take the place of the present centralized, one-man power system. The possibilities of the far future, however, when more general intelligence and integrity will succeed, and when the motives for fraud in business which now prevail so alarmingly, will have nearly disappeared, have no immediate value.

We are interested in what can and should be done to-day, or this year, and we cannot, and should not be asked to run the risk of investing the small means we have been years in accumulating, in a venture which seems to us likely to fail. It should be remembered that the most enterprising and wealthy managers do not in these days *begin* business, without some peculiar or special advantage over those already engaged in the same line. In some form they commence with a monopoly. A peculiar labor-saving process covered by letters patent—some Vanderbilt, or Fisk, or Burnside, who are paid an enormous bonus to give the company the prestige

and power of their great name and talents; and sometimes the locality chosen, may, combined with the large capital invested, warrant the safety of the enterprise.

Houses long established in business have a sort of monopoly in the fact that they have existed so many years. They began a generation or more ago, when the difficulties of our time were unknown, and, perhaps, are patronized largely through force of habit. The originator of the concern is in his grave, but his name is still associated with the business, and so it goes on, because it has gone on so long.

Without reputation, without credit which would tide us over many a difficulty, without a patent or monopoly, local or otherwise, not being able to hire a Drew, a Stewart, or a Lawrence for head manager, all unacquainted with each other in business qualifications, not disciplined upon the great idea of forgetting all differences irrelevant to the main question, running over with prejudices which are the natural fruit of our narrow and contracted circumstances, we are urged to coöperate.

One of the first necessities in the coöperation of the masses, is the ability to judge of character, to be able to single out correctly the right man for the right place. A company of working-men met together to arrange the preliminaries necessary to begin a coöperative shop, would not be sure to select just the men for superintendent, treasurer and subordinates. A careful scrutiny of the men would discover to a critical observer, that the most of them depended upon a few leading minds in deciding whom to vote for. A positive, energetic fellow who says "No," when he ought to, who would be the one of all others to fill a special position, is the man the majority will be sure to vote against. The masses vote for those who *please* them, rather than for those who will best *serve* them.

Very few men of commanding ability are recognized in their every-day dress, engaged in their common-place pursuits, by their comrades, in advance of the public.

The ability to recognize integrity and capacity, is not yet common enough among the majority of wage-men to insure the best choice for managers.

In every trade there are, of course, a few whose extra skill and capacity would make the experiment a success, if they were only harnessed in with the association.

But their ability is recognized by the capitalist who pays enough to keep them; and, therefore, while a coöperative association starts *without the very best workmanship*, it starts also without the *low-paid* labor which capital fills in so economically; and in the actual workings of the experiment a coöperator whose pay is quite up to

the average, is employed in a branch of the business which is performed by a *lower* paid employé in the service of capital.

That twenty-five cents more a day, perhaps, taken and *consumed* by the coöperator in a more decent living, is withheld by the employer from his man, and adds so much more to his reserved wealth, which in some trial hour he will fling; if necessary, in deadly competition with the struggling coöperators.

As a rule, low-paid labor cannot coöperate with the better paid and more intelligent class of producers, and in the employ of great corporations are fatal to nearly all our attempts at coöperation. When the time comes that our *lowest* paid labor receives enough to enable it to live as respectably as the better class of mechanics live now, then coöperative experiments will more generally succeed.

The problem now is how to raise the pay or wages of the more unskilled up to this level.

The great mill-stone around our neck as we mechanics strike out towards coöperation, is the ill-paid, ill-conditioned labor below which operates cheaply so much of the machinery of production; and we are admonished by the fact that if we would raise ourselves, we must first help them.

There they stand,—a John Chinaman, perhaps,—turning a crank or tending a machine for a dollar and a quarter a day, and forced to live in a style which none up to the idea of coöperation, would be willing to think of for a moment.

It will not do to urge the injustice of paying *more* to the common laborer; for the fact that he now receives double the wages and double the comforts secured a hundred years ago, is good ground for believing that the improvement will continue until his income and comforts shall double again.

It is, of course, possible, even in the present high pressure system, to find leaders of sufficient calibre to manage a coöperative association. If, however, integrity is wanting, the men may awake to find that their leader is managing them too, as thousands of stockholders have found themselves outwitted by directors who depreciate valuable stock until the shareholders are constrained to sell.

The obstacles outside of a coöperative association must gradually be reduced, and the virtue, intelligence and individual capital necessary to overcome them, must be increased, before republicanized labor can supplant successfully, the comparative efficiency of the present despotic or oligarchic system.

To those who urge that coöperation has succeeded wonderfully in England, we reply, that these remarks are not made to prove that coöperative *stores* for the *distribution* of wealth, merely, are

premature. A coöperative store is one thing. A coöperative shop for the *production* of wealth, is quite another thing. But the success of coöperation in the *distribution* of commodities in England is due, largely, to the fact that the leading working-men there, have more influence with their comrades than those who here attempt to lead in such enterprises. English institutions do not allow working-men of the talent and character of Nathaniel P. Banks, the Bobbin Boy, or Henry Wilson, the Cobbler, to rise as easily and leave their class, as in this country, where there is no titled or permanent aristocracy. It is much easier to rise here, and nearly all who succeed, desert their class, leaving behind poorer leadership than in England, where it is forced to stay in the ranks; and as the masses there are more used to the control of managers, than the corresponding class here, all working-men's organizations there are, of course, more successful. There are also some very eminent outsiders who aid the English coöperators in their humble efforts; while here the corresponding class are engaged in politics or literature.

The coöperation which would lift us out of the vassalage and poverty of the wage-system, means vastly more than is meant by those who advise it. It is as much of an exotic in the present state of society, as an orange-tree on a Massachusetts farm. When the preliminary conditions essential to its final success are better understood, it will be urged with as much caution and hesitation, as is practised by American statesmen in advocating or suggesting a republican form of government for Spain, or for any country where the institutions have not previously educated the masses up to the required standard. The steps, therefore, *leading* to coöperation, and the one to be taken *first*, are the more practical view of our situation.

Every proposition made in behalf of the masses must harmonize with this, viz.: that they will not make any sudden jump or leap in any direction, much less will they spring at a single bound out of the wages channel into that of coöperative production. They will attain this through growth, education and development. The time it will take for the wage-classes finally to reach coöperation is exactly the time required to increase their compensation gradually until it reaches the level where the profits made upon labor are no longer enough to support non-producers, but are sufficient to give all who labor the individual capital necessary to coöperate; and how to increase wages without, of course, increasing by just so much the cost to the consumers,—who are mostly laborers,—is a question which must be answered before the millennium of associated labor.

The low paid laborer who can be used, and the enormously wealthy who use him, must both be melted out of existence, by increasing wages. It is low wages which make them both possible, for vast individual possessions are the direct or indirect product of profits upon labor. It is of course absurd to say that capitalists will not invest their money if they can make no profits, as they could not exist at all as capitalists if profits had not been made somewhere upon labor. They are the result of profits, and a better result will be when laborers secure their own profits. When this comes to pass, the Vanderbilts, Stewards and Rothschilds of society will be as useless and as impossible as a Napoleon or a Caesar in New England.

How to increase wages is, however, the primary and more immediate consideration; and additional interest is lent to this question as we remember, that about all of the world's wealth which is secured and used by the wage-classes, is that which reaches them in the form of wages.

How many of the common laborers would know what to do with their dollar and a half a day, if they were not obliged to spend it for bread? The financial and political schemes for putting something more into his pocket, result finally in reducing, by just so much, the amount paid for wages. If, by some miracle in production, flour could be hereafter afforded for a cent a barrel, wages would ultimately fall to the point where it would be as hard to pay that, as it is now the present prices. The rate of wages received in all countries by the masses, depends almost wholly upon what it costs to live, and how much it costs to live, depends largely upon the progress which the people have made. In a certain sense, it is desirable that men should become costly; and yet for a country or for society, dear men are the cheapest, and the so-called cheap men are the dearest. The great moral, natural and social causes which make men dear, always make things cheap. The way to increase wages is to aid every moral movement which tends to raise the standard of living. The class of influences which have made wages higher here than in any other country, and which have made them higher everywhere than they were a generation ago, must be continued, or improved and supplemented by something better.

A successful strike for higher wages does not increase the laborer's compensation in the long run, as the amount is simply added to the cost of production, to which, as a consumer, he ultimately helps. The true idea of increasing wages is to bring men into relations and circumstances which will remind them of what they ought to have, and make them feel, through their pride, or ambition, or more worthy motives, that it must be had. A Southern merchant, in a

postscript to an order for goods from New York, writes : " You must send me the best shoes, for here every negro is expecting to go to Congress." This means that the ballot, caucus, &c., begin to make the once slave ashamed of his old dress, and this helps to increase his wages. A slave did not require as much as a freeman, and the enfranchised negro does not want as much as a New Englander, while we ought to feel that we must have more. Having the common school system as well as Sabbath schools, frequent elections and public assemblages and more railroads, daily papers and elegant residences than anywhere else, we now want more time !

Within certain limits, reduction of the hours of labor is an increase of wages, because more leisure creates new wants ; and this brings us to the very first step towards coöperation, for wages,—(individual capital,) is not only increased, but with them,—our intelligence. One of the reasons why the millions of dollars deposited in the Massachusetts Savings Banks are not turned in this direction, is because the intelligence necessary to success, is wanting.

The first point to make before attempting to prove that *less* hours means *more* pay, is to demonstrate, by actual experiment, that wages cannot be reduced by simply reducing the hours of labor. It is here that most people stumble. Those who hire labor do not make this mistake, and this experiment is not urged for their satisfaction or enlightenment.

To show the masses how groundless are their fears upon this matter, I ask the Bureau to urge the legislation necessary to secure,—

1. The eight-hour system for all labor employed by, or on behalf of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, whether by contract or otherwise.

2. An amendment to the charters granted by the State to the cities and towns of the Commonwealth, by which all labor employed by, or on behalf of them, shall adopt the eight-hour system.

3. The passage of resolutions requesting our representatives in Congress, and instructing our senators to use all their influence to secure a law, by which all patents hereafter issued, shall contain a provision limiting the hours of labor for all employed in its manufacture, to eight a day.

The developments following this legislation will forever silence the falsehood that less hours means less pay. Convince the masses of this, and they will eagerly vote for the subsequent legislation necessary to secure the more extensive adoption of the system.

1. All manufacturing corporations must be allowed to choose

between a surrender of their charters and the adoption of the eight-hour system.

2. No minors shall be employed by any one more than eight hours a day.

3. In the absence of a written agreement—to be renewed once a year—eight hours to constitute a legal day's work. These are the preliminary steps to higher wages, a better distribution of wealth, the gradual extinction of poverty and the dawn of coöperation.

Office No. 33. Allow me to state that the wages of the majority of the working class of this town is not sufficient to maintain them. In fact, I have been informed by several of the grocers, that the working-men cannot meet their bills, and even at that, they live in a state of moderate starvation. You will receive a blank filled by ———, a man I know to be a hard-working, steady, temperate person, and he has told me that he could not pay his bills, much less was he enabled to procure suitable food for nourishment,—sufficient meat is out of the question; he is a man of veracity.

Office No. 103. "The writer has had quite an extensive experience in strikes. I am fully convinced that it is the only method of obtaining justice to labor. Like all wars, it is always attended with evils. It was stated that it cost the moneyed power of New York five million of dollars to defeat the caulkers and carpenters in the strike for eight hours in 1866. The strike was injudicious and disastrous to the workmen directly, but its influence was effectual in obtaining the adoption of the measure by government, and its permanent establishment in Boston on the repairs of ships.

"I have been connected with workingmen's organizations for twenty-five years. I consider them of very great advantage to those engaged in them. They have been directly instrumental in shortening the hours of labor and increasing the rate of wages; they are a means of education, an inducement to temperance, and must be profitable morally and socially.

"The caulkers and carpenters on repairs established the ten hours in 1837, or about that time; the eight hours in 1854. Their improvement has been marked in all respects. Those steadily employed in the business are with very few exceptions, temperance men; without doubt, a larger proportion of them are total abstinent, than of any other class of men in the city of Boston.

The success of the Charlestown coöperative stores is well known; it might have been much greater, if the system had been fully carried out by adding dividends to the capital, and judiciously manag-

ing them. The Coöperation Manufacturing Company stopped from lack of capital and an able manager."

Office No. 48. "If you had asked me what was the general condition of the factory operatives, I could have answered you by one word,—MISERABLE. They have to live at great distance from their work, and in the most crowded portions of the city, in tenements, and at high rents, at the mercy of the landlord on the one hand, and monopolied corporations on the other. The corporations in this city have just reduced our pay from ten to twelve per cent., which they can do with impunity, regardless of our feelings or our needs. If you wish to obtain correct information in regard to the condition of the operatives, you ought to send an agent that is interested in labor reform, and he will find out what the condition is of the man that supports his family of five or six persons out of \$1.25 per day, which is nearly the average wages now paid. Send him to a place where there is a labor reform committee, and they will point out numerous cases, if he cannot find them himself.

"I have saved a little money, in amount about sixteen hundred dollars, and I pretend to say that I have done well, and it has taken me and my wife, by our united efforts, *twelve years to save it*; my wife has worked four and a half months in the year on an average during that time, and if she had not done so I could not have saved anything. I earn considerably more than the average pay, but I could not afford to hire a tenement of sufficient size to be comfortable, and if my wife did not work in the mill a part of the time I could not save a dollar. We are industrious, temperate and economical.

"If we could have a law made which would compel all the mills in the State to reduce the hours of labor to ten hours per day, it would regulate business, and at the same time help the poor, who are compelled to work every day in the year for a mere subsistence, and the poor widow, who works in the mill eleven hours every day, and has to do her home work and take care of her family on Sunday.

"The people are more oppressed in the small mills in the country by their employers than we are in the city, but we have to contend with the high cost of living in the city more than they do in the country. The manufacturers employ a great many children in mills, which they ought not to hire. If you were to ask the reason why so young persons are engaged, they will say their parents are avaricious, which I am willing to allow in a few cases, but in more cases it is pressing want which makes people send their oldest children in the mill before they are able to work, so that they may help to support the numerous family left at home.

"Have we no Sir Robert Peel or a Lord Ashley in this country

to make our wants and wishes known, and to ameliorate the condition of the working classes as much as possible, and to deliver us from the oppression of monopolied companies which now have the control of labor and capital? but Heaven will yet bless the American statesman that will arise and deliver us.

* "As far as I have been able to learn, you have sent these papers to men that receive \$2 per day or more. Now, if you would send them to men who support their families out of \$1.25 to \$1.50 per day, perhaps they might enlighten you in regard to the mysteries of housekeeping better than I can, as I can barely support my family out of my pay, and could not save anything were it not for the help of my wife."

Office No. 48. "Will you please promise me that you will not make my name known? because the corporations are watching the actions of the help with jealous eyes, and will discharge any person they may find divulging anything not for their interest to make known." See page 34.

Office No. 4. "This paper has been filled out as near correct as possible. Some of the questions cannot be easily answered without taking considerable time and inquiring into the subject: but if there is any of them that you would like particularly to know, send again, and I will find out more particularly. (This blank was filled out for a female operative by the writer.) I have been accustomed to woollen factories; can describe them readily; am now a hatter. Capital is every day, step by step, getting in advance of labor, and my opinion is, if there is not a reform, in a short time the laboring classes will become nothing more than serfs of the soil. We, as hatters, have an organization, but the employers have last month formed against us, cut down our prices, and if we refuse to work in any one of the shops, they all as a body refuse us work, unless we succumb to their prices. I think this is carrying things too far; we want our liberties as journeymen, not to be used as serfs and slaves.

"At the woollen mills where you addressed this sheet, the operatives are nothing more than slaves, only it is in a different way that is carried on from the African mode. There is no doubt that discipline in large mills is necessary in order to have things move on smoothly, but when it comes to only getting a bare living, and scanty at that, it is time for a reform. There is nothing laid by in case of sickness, and no provision made by the employers. What must be the result? My answer would be, beggary. It is hard for men to spend all their time in health for the mere living which they scantily

* Blanks were sent at the request of the writer to some of the poorest paid laborers but no response was obtained to them.

procure, and in sickness be thrown on the charity of the town, and their employers rolling in splendor.

"I may not properly understand the object of this sheet, therefore, if I have made any remarks that are too rigid, I would beg to be excused. I cannot think of anything more at present; I have dwelt long enough on this subject."

Office No. 40. "In making these few remarks you will please to forgive, or overlook any mistakes which I may make. I have been in my time employed in the cotton mill, in almost all its branches for twenty years, and in a flax mill about five years, and in a machine shop about eight years, making about thirty-three years that I have labored with my hands, and yet I am poor. This may appear to you somewhat strange, but you will please bear with me while I tell you how and why it is; and let me say, in the first place, that the man who labors receives little more than needful to keep body and soul together. For the last five years I have labored hard and anxiously to get a little ahead, but all in vain, for as soon as I had got a five dollars saved up, then some one of my family would be taken sick, and then my little all would go, and I left where I was. But it was not so with the employer; we often find that when they have been in business for five years, that they can lay back for the rest of their lives, and this to me is proof that labor and capital is not rightly adjusted, for the laborer is to perform all the labor, while capital receives all the profit, and I think and believe that if any man has a right to live well, and be prepared for a day of sickness, it is the laborers who are the producers of all the wealth and happiness in the land. But alas, it is not so, for the man who labors has to grope his way through the world, while he who labors not, lives on the fat of the land."

Office No. 117. "In reference to question 92, a strike which was successfully carried out, was organized here last October, to resist a reduction of wages.

"I believe that the trades union has been a means of keeping up the price of labor to a great extent. I have profited much morally and socially. I do not think it has affected the habits of the members in regard to temperance. The cause of our coöperative store closing up, was the ignorance of the managers; they were men in easy circumstances, and thought they had all the wisdom needed; they began to wrangle among themselves, the members lost confidence and were glad to sell out."

Office No. 107. "At the age of six I was put out with a farmer, worked on a farm until I was twenty-two years of age, then I went into a stable, had to rise early and work hard till nine in the fore-

noon, the rest of the day the work was light. For three years I worked in cotton mills; went to work at five in the morning and worked till seven at night; since that time my employments have alternated between carpentering and farming.

"I have always found my health the best when not confined to regular hours of labor, (*i.e.*, when not obliged to work all the time throughout the day,) and could such be the case I think it would be better for the health of the people, but as under the wage-system most of our work must have fixed hours of labor, I believe that a reduction of the hours is absolutely needed for the good of the people in morals, sociality and health."

Office No. 36. "There are but few laws in Massachusetts that are of benefit to the really poor. The legislation, as far as I have had the means of knowing, has been almost invariably to favor the rich and crush the poor. Look if you will at the chancery laws, the really poor can have no benefit from them, because he cannot pay the expense. Look at the decisions of all our criminal courts from the trial justices up to the superior courts. Just look at the little child that was sentenced last week. Think you that such an outrage in the name of justice would have been perpetrated on a rich man's son without notifying his parents or friends?

"Let me call your attention to another case that I saw and heard, or rather I should have said cases, there were two. It was in the court of Common Pleas at ———; there were two men arraigned, one for stealing a coat, valued at four dollars; he was a poor young man, the son of poor parents—sentenced to two years in the house of correction; the other, the son of a rich man, stole a horse and chaise valued at three hundred dollars—sentenced two months in the same institution. The above cases, in my opinion, are a fair sample of meting out justice to the rich and poor in this State.

"The causes of the indebtedness of laboring men are various. I consider one cause, indiscretion at their first start; second, the credit system; third, intemperance; fourth, the trustee process, by which I have known the costs to swallow half of a man's month's wages when his children were hungry; fifth, the use of tobacco; sixth is the great humbug called doctors; seventh, the unequal division of the proceeds of labor between us and employers. I am aware that we, the laboring men and women, have the remedy for all the evils of which we complain in our own hands, and we gave you a notice of the fact last November.

"One thing we ask for a remedy, is a law exempting wages of men and women to the amount of two hundred dollars from the trustee

process ; second, a ten hour law ; third, a law by which we may go out free as often as the poor did under the old Levitical law.

"I am opposed to strikes at all times, and under all circumstances. I have never known any good to come from them. I am also opposed to the arrangement that at present exists between corporations and many of our individual manufacturers ; if one of them discharges a person, the rest are notified of the fact, and the rest refuse to hire them. My opinion is, that we should have a law making the above conspiracy, punishable by imprisonment not less than six months in the house of correction at hard labor.

"Our employer is sharp at a bargain ; wants all the profit of labor that he can get. I think it is so with most business men. He always pays when and what he agrees to. If hands are unfortunate, if they are honest, he many times advances them money. He does not charge any profit on what he sells his help.

"My hand is too lame with rheumatism to write any more at this time. My opinion is that you can get more information from the manufacturers, if you have a mind to force them to tell what they know. I do not think they will all tell voluntarily.

"One thing more that labor has to complain of, is the exemption of U. S. bonds from taxation ; we have come to the conclusion that a man's person is as sacred as money. Laboring men have looked at that matter more the last year than ever before.

"We have also examined, to some extent, the national banking system, and are becoming satisfied of the injustice of that ; we mean to have but one currency for labor and capital ; and if the republican party of this State and nation persist in their present course to crush the laborer, their days are few, and will be full of sorrow. It must be taxation of bonds, or repudiation of the debt. I am no democrat, never having voted that ticket in my life."

Office No. 116. "I regret that I am unable to answer all the questions as satisfactorily as I could have wished. I need not give you any lengthy explanation. I will only say that I have taken very little interest in a great many things that you have inquired into, and I could not get the information without exciting remarks ; but if I am spared another year, I will inform myself in every particular.

"I am convinced that working-men would be much better off, if they did not support so many idle persons that keep drinking saloons ; for instance, I know a factory that supports four men that get a living for their families by selling drink, and there are five that get a large share of their income at the same business. I am of

opinion that working-men ought to be protected from the drink-seller, as well as the manufacturer.

“There is, in my opinion, a great grievance to the working-men, in the law between the employer and the employed, in regard to recovering wages. Many men are put to great inconvenience and expense before they will apply to the courts to get their wages, and more especially if anything occurs between the settling days. I have witnessed more injustice in that respect, than in anything else pertaining to the factory system.

“There is another thing that I wish to invite your attention to; that is, the power that some superintendents assume, whereby they will settle the bills of the employés in the counting-room, against their expressed wish. I can assert with confidence, that I have known a case in which the superintendent actually collected the bills of a rum-seller in the counting-room, and when the parties interested remonstrated with him for doing so, he coolly told them to go to law for it.

“The factory help will not go to law except in extreme cases of hardship and tyranny, for the law referred to, as it stands at present, is too expensive and uncertain. If it was reduced to the simplicity whereby any one could obtain a summons against an employer without a lawyer, and that immediate judgment could be obtained, and none of that detestable dodging called appeals be allowed, the working-men would be on a more equal footing with the employer. It is following those appeals that destroys the poor man's chance of justice.”

Office No. 9. “It should be understood that my circumstances are better than the average condition of working-men in this vicinity, and that I am not a whit more industrious than the majority of them, but have been favored in my family with uniform good health, and no great losses of any kind. The industry of working-men and women, and their general good habits are remarkable here. In answer to question 101, I say that the influence of trade unions is every way beneficial, and has profited me by increasing my earnings, increasing my fund of information of evils in the business that need to be reformed; they are generally advantageous, educationally, morally and socially, and are of more substantial benefit as regards temperance in this place, than the temperance orders are.

“I have tried to give short and exact answers to all the questions, but they fall very far short of giving a true expression of the actual condition of working-men. The great majority are unable to support their families, and are constantly in arrears. Life is only a struggle with them. In my shop we work by the day, or hour,

while but a short distance from here they all work by the piece, and can make a third more pay. All but mechanics seem to have the privilege of making their own terms.

“When misfortune overtakes the laborer, he is then an object of charity, and charity in any form he does not ask for. Pay him so that he may be able to educate his children, that he may be able to have a good pew in church, and occupy it with a well dressed and well fed family; to enable him to lay by something in case of sickness, and a chance to enjoy a little portion of the recreations and luxuries of the times. Remove from him all laws that oppress, and create new, to elevate and encourage him, for now he labors only for subsistence.

“The evils that oppress labor are various. It is no one great and crying evil that is complained of, but a huge array of lesser evils are fastened on the laborer; but reforms are now demanded by the working-men themselves, and the movement is in successful operation all over the land. The result of labor reform movements cannot now be estimated, but the movement will go on by working-men, will be managed by them, and substantially settled by them, until capital will be made to see the justice of the cause, or forced by existing events to more generous payment for labor.

“You may make what use you please of the above, or of my name, as I am ready to testify to what I have written.”

Office No. 51 says, in reference to question 74: “There don’t seem to be any rules in this town, or in fact, in any of the small towns, in regard to apprentices. There is not work enough in winter to guarantee the binding of an apprentice for either one or three years. When I first went to work, my employer said he would pay my board for a few weeks until he could see how I would ‘break in;’ at the end of a few weeks he agreed to hire me and give me \$1.50 per day, as long as he had work. I averaged about \$30 a month for seven months, then the work got slack, so I had to look for a factory job for the winter, as I did not have enough earned to keep me the remaining five months. I got work in a factory until the following spring, when I left and began to work for my old employer on my second year, at \$2 per day. Things were pretty much the same; I had to find another job in winter, and last spring I came back to my old employer on my third year, for \$2.25 per day, with the previous understanding of getting work while he had it. I am now idle, this being a dull winter for factory business.

“For my part, I think it is no worse to get a trade so, than to be regularly indentured for three years; and if the question were asked

me by other than the Labor Bureau, if I served an apprenticeship, I should answer yes! But to you, gentlemen, I give the details, for there is many others at this (house painting,) as well as other trades, that learn them as above stated. I should like to know if, in your opinion, we that learn trades as I have above stated, should not be worthy of being classed with those who have papers of apprenticeship to show, 'provided we can do as good a job of work' as they can?

"I received \$100 bounty two years ago. I put it in the savings bank, and have had to draw it this winter in order to keep out of debt."

Office No. 141, in commenting on question 92, says: "Considerable suffering and misery was caused by the strike in London, among the strikers and their families. Strikes, in general, lead to much dissipation. In my opinion they ought never to be resorted to; at any rate, not till all other means of relief have failed.

"As regards the strike in Nova Scotia, my employer's trade fell off in consequence of competition. He reduced the wages of his workmen thirty-five per cent.; we agreed to the reduction, on the condition that if he got his trade back again, we should have the old wages. Within two years his trade increased threefold; we demanded an increase of twenty-five per cent.; he refused; we struck; result the same as in London, though on a smaller scale.

"I am decidedly of opinion that trades unions, if rightly conducted, are beneficial to the working classes. In my opinion, as a working-man, I have invariably found that where trades organizations existed, better wages were paid. I believe that the order of K. O. S. C. is exerting a moral influence upon its members that will be felt far and wide. Many of the lodges have reading-rooms and pianos, music and means provided for the intellectual improvement of the members. In many of the large cities and towns, the Order of Crispins has been instrumental in reducing the hours of labor to ten per day.

"Excessive daily labor has been very injurious to me physically. When an apprentice, I have been compelled to work sixteen hours a day. No boy, in my opinion, under eighteen years of age, ought to labor (in-doors,) more than eight hours per day."

Office No. 82. REMARKS.—"I think it of importance to give an inside view of (the common policy) how a great many of the employers preserve the appearance of paying their workmen the highest wages. The most pliable characters, which suit their aims best, are picked out as foremen. Excellency in this work is of very little importance, if they only give evidence of answering the policy of the

house. That a right up and down person is found in such a place is a case of exception; and it is so turned and twisted, that the employer is always getting every advantage of the employed.

"I am now forty-nine years of age, and have worked for fifteen years unceasingly, and could not make any savings for a time of sickness or for old age, when I shall be unable to satisfy an employer. I am less than a working animal, because his employer will give him food, even if unable to work, but he would not pay my board, my tailor, or my washwoman. I ask, What is the cause of these circumstances, unworthy a civilized race of the nineteenth century? I beg leave to submit my humble opinions and remedies under the heading of remarks.

"I. *Causes.*

"1. The modern industrial production demands a better organization of divisions of the benefits and profits of my labor.

"2. The habit of usury and the old style of the financial system debars me of a great part of the profits of my labor.

"3. Education is not generally available enough, for the people to acquire a knowledge of the evils which make them miserable. And,

"4. Most of our government officers are 'Bucks in the garden!'

"II. *Remedies.*

"1. The influence of the National Labor Party.

"2. The introduction of Ed. Kellogg's new monetary system. This must engender a great many improvements in our social organization, which are impossible as long as bank and railroad directors, and other monopolists, in company with lawyers, are allowed to regulate our government affairs.

"3. To avoid this, we must have the power to recall our representatives in the legislature as soon as they deviate from the platform of the National Labor Party.

"4. We want the referendum."

Office No. 40. A Machinist remarks: "As to the hours of labor, I believe they are too long, for I know from my own experience in the cotton mill, that when I worked more than nine or ten hours in a day I was used up, and fit for little or nothing the rest of the day; and I have never, so far, recruited from the effects of working long hours; and I believe if the hours of labor were shortened, it would have a good effect upon the minds and lives of the people. There are some who would use their time very favorably, but this might not be the greatest reason in favor of the 'long hour system.' Man needs time for study and

recreation ; he needs it for family devotion ; and above all, he needs it to think of God and his own soul ; for what is life and all its attendants if the soul is lost ?—and I say, that with the present long hour system, and the hard work while at it, when the day's work is done, and the laborer reaches home, he feels that rest is all that is wanted, and all else is lost sight of for a time. I believe, also, that the long hour system is the curse of our Sabbath schools and churches, and the reason why they are so thinly attended, for when a man has worked hard six days out of the seven, he does not feel much as the Bible says God did : 'resting on the seventh.'"

REMARKS ON WORKING WOMEN, THEIR CONDITION, WAGES, &C., &C.

BY A LADY FAMILIAR WITH THE SUBJECT.

The condition of laboring women in this country is rapidly approximating to their general status in England and on the continent of Europe. Their wages are the last to rise and the first to fall with the fluctuations of trade and the supply of labor in the market, while they do not, as a rule, receive more than one-fourth as much wages as a man for the same work. Exceptional cases sometimes occur, which only serve by contrast to render the general wretchedness more visible. Few women can earn enough to provide themselves with decent board and clothing in any of the Eastern States; the Western are but little, if any, better, for there as well as here, women are numerically in excess, not only of the wants of employers, but they largely outnumber the men.

This excess of labor, and general scarcity of work, drive the women into our cities, where, among a larger number of employers and greater variety of industries, more work and better pay, more independence and better social advantages can be obtained. From the earliest period of which we have record of civilized life, the cities have been the paradise of dependent wage toilers, while the country, though it flowed with milk and honey, was ever to the homeless laborer, a barren, burning Sahara, where continued existence was not possible.

How do the women live in this paradise? In Boston, a large proportion are workers in shops. We will take one trade, that of tailoresses and cloak-makers; they go to their work at seven, almost always without any warm breakfast, (unless they are so fortunate as to be residing with friends;) they work till ten and then have (in the best workrooms) a few minutes rest, when the little teapot is set on the range and a lunch of dry food eaten, but in most of the lower priced establishments, the girls do not stop work till twelve, when in all they are allowed from thirty to sixty minutes for dinner. Work ends at 6 P. M., and the girls, many of

them take work home with them, not ceasing work till twelve at night. Room rent costs not less than two to three dollars each, with often two or more double beds in a room. In good shops and brisk work they can earn a dollar a day. Some machine girls receive more, but the work is very wearing, and soon induces spinal disease; one of our largest, as well as kindest custom work merchant tailors, testified to a committee of inquiry that few machine girls could work over two years before becoming so broken down, that they were ever after unfit for any sort of labor requiring any active exertion. In slop-work shops girls can seldom earn more than their room rent, unless by overwork, to procure food, &c. In slack times their suffering is extreme; girls having been known to work weeks having only water and bread, or crackers for food, and fortunate indeed is she who can procure an ounce of tea. In dull times when but few workers are employed in any branch of business, many live for weeks on five cents worth of stale bread each week, while seeking through cold, sleet or snow for work. Many trades are even worse paid than this. The women workers have another disadvantage against which to contend; the discrimination made against them by the lodging-house keepers. They are charged higher rates than men, and many refuse to have women in their houses at any price; the consequence is working-women are often obliged to live and sleep in localities where they would be ashamed to let any one know they ever went. But spite of all the cold and hunger to which these women are subjected, very many do not break down morally, nor become untidy in dress, and those who do should receive the pity and sympathy of the Christian world, instead of the savage punishment now heaped upon them in our workhouses. The condition of shop girls of all trades is, however, better than that of those women who take work home to do from the slop shops, provident, aid and other charitable societies. The prices given for such work range as follows: shirts, four to seven cents; fine bosomed shirts, ten to twenty-five cents; satin vests, twenty cents; pants, fifteen, twenty, and thirty-seven cents; coats, fifty cents; French calico suits, lined sack, faced skirt, twenty cents; long white night-dress, fifty cents. Of the 30,000 women in and about Boston who live by sewing, some (and they are very few indeed,) earn over twelve dollars a week; the average wages will not exceed two dollars seventy-five cents. Many poor women take out this slop and charity work in quantities, and give it to others to do, still further lessening the receipts of the actual workers, who are usually women with small families dependent upon their labor for support; sometimes it is a dependent husband or invalid parents, for whom the

poor women toil. Paper-box makers average about three dollars per week. Factory life now is much harder on woman than it was twenty-five years ago; instead of tending two looms as then, she is required to attend six, while her wages are now so proportionally lowered, that a week's work now will not procure as much comfort as when she only tended one loom. Domestic servants receive all the way from one to five dollars a week, which is supposed to include food and lodging; great complaint is, however, made by the servants that in many cases all food is kept under lock and key, and very insufficient amounts of unfit food dealt out to girls who have to labor fourteen hours a day with only one evening out each week. Domestic work in genteel families, where the labor is described as "light," and offering the "advantages of a home to the girls," is so exhausting to the nervous and physical system, that very few women can work more than one or two years without "breaking down," and being obliged to leave work, for a time at least. Most houses are four or five stories high, up which the girl must travel, often heavily loaded, several times a day; usually she sleeps in some cold attic, dark closet, or, perhaps, in the kitchen. I have known some whose pallet, of a pillow and blanket, was nightly spread on the kitchen table. Very few working-women of any class, ever have a good bed with sufficient bed covering. Their wages will not allow them to purchase warm flannel under garments, or serviceable shoes, waterproofs, &c., yet they must often brave the elements. Few working-women are ever exempt from diseases caused by scanty clothing, insufficient and innutritious food, and long continued labor in numberless and nameless deleterious conditions. The constant pressure of anxiety breaks down many girls physically, and too often morally, before they reach the prime of life.

All avenues of employment are overcrowded. The Industrial Aid Society, in the Bureau of Charity, Chardon Street, records during the last quarter, 563 applications of women for domestic service; places were found for 281 only. During the same time 932 men also applied for work; places were found for 200. These figures tell their own story, and when we consider that almost every church in the city has connected therewith a similar employment office, besides the large number of employment offices not connected with any church or society, we may begin to form some idea of the great crowd of women and children wandering hungry and cold up and down our streets, seeking honest work, and too often, alas, finding none. Complaint is often made that many of these women are unskilled in the work for which they apply, but merchant tailors, and, indeed, all persons who employ skilled labor, as it is technically

termed, tell us that taxes, &c., are so heavy that they could not get along without woman's cheap labor, and woman's labor must be cheap they say, when for every woman they employ, nineteen equally well skilled are out of work, standing ready to take her place at lower wages, if any reduction be possible; but even now woman's average wages in this country are so low that existence thereon, even in the lowest conditions, is scarcely possible. Two hundred and seventy-eight families, representing 1,200 persons are dependent on the city soup for subsistence. This does not include Charlestown or other suburban districts, nor the number fed at the Bureau of Charity, Chardon Street; about half the soup-takers are widows. As a natural result of this state of affairs, morality is at a low ebb; vagrancy, beggary and prostitution in all their phases abound, and are increasing in our midst. For the honor of womanhood, however, be it said that the great majority of our suffering working-women, many of whom have seen better days, and not seldom are well educated and fitted socially and morally to grace any station in life, never lose their virtuous independence and proud self-respect. Through hunger, cold, nakedness, and the world's contumely and scorn, they retain their unswerving faith and trust in God, and uncomplainingly press onward and upward to their eternal home in the heavens, along a path so thorny and trials so many, that compared therewith the ancient martyrs and saints walked on down and slept on roses. How can this class of women be helped? Some have suggested building large city tenements for them at low rents, others recommend cheap boarding-houses; but these measures do not lessen the number of seekers for work, and the consequent low rate of wages. Evidently while such a surplus of labor exists, wages will remain at the lowest point short of quick starvation; already is the "famine fever," of the old world among us, and is fast becoming epidemic in our cities. Already has the dreaded "relapsing fever" made its hateful appearance; the scourge of poverty, it is the precursor of typhus and plague, which spare not the rich, and respect not the thrones of kings. Relapsing and famine fevers are the last warnings of an angry God to the nation or people that heedlessly or wilfully oppress the poor, or rob the widow and orphan of their inheritance.

Charities may relieve for a time, but they invariably increase the evils complained of. Some way must be devised whereby these surplus laborers, who are in no sense producers, can be removed out of the wages market, and enabled to become self-supporting producers, instead of starving consumers. The first desideratum is to remove them from the crowded city into a more healthful and inde-

pendent condition ; wages service, we have seen, cannot do this, but there is a mode which has been most successfully tried to a limited extent, by a few wealthy people in this country, and much more extensively with the best results in France, near Mulhouse. The plan there carried out is in many respects substantially the same as proposed by the working-women of Boston to their general court, and consists of garden homesteads, with cheap houses thereon, with all needed aid and instruction to the purchasers of the homesteads. This is in no sense a charity, but the means of independence, and of the working people's liberation from the chains of a hopeless, helpless dependence on charity and wages slavery. The rents were paid promptly ; workmen were ambitious to buy their houses quickly ; money that once went for follies or into the wineshop now went into the savings bank. The great philanthropist, the greatest this age has produced, Dollfus, the working-man, and the working-man's friend, was in the right ; the working-men only needed an object to economize for ; only needed an interest in life, and the holy influences of untainted nature, and he had given it to them. "His garden homestead city is one of the sweetest nooks in the wide world. Roses bloom on cheeks which were pale, and rival the roses in the gardens. Women who had been working fourteen hours in gloomy despair in factories, came back to the hearthstone. Babies flourished, the communal school taught them letters, and the gardens of M. Dollfus showed them nature. The workmen and women of Mulhouse were saved out of the horrible pit into which they had fallen," and in 1861, the garden homestead city had 4,497 inhabitants, and building is always going on. Messrs. Hovey & Co., florists and seedsmen of New York, have in a small way helped their workmen to obtain homesteads in like manner. But in both cases it was the working-men only who were thus aided, leaving the great mass of working-women still helplessly bound in the horrible pit and miry clay of our social wage-labor system. In Massachusetts it is variously estimated there are from seventy to one hundred thousand more women than men. Could these women, or any considerable portion of them, be induced to become the tenants and purchasers of such garden homesteads, would not the result be as beneficial here as in France ?

Very many of them would be thereby entirely removed from the overcrowded ranks of wage-laborers, and become food and clothing producers ; rents, food and all necessities of life would cheapen, while the male laborer in the wage-market, not being exposed to undue competition, would find his actual, and, perhaps, nominal wages advancing upward.

The capitalist would find compensation in less taxes, and the greatly increased virtue, morality, and thrift of the Commonwealth. The working-women are exceedingly desirous of becoming the purchasers of these homesteads in some such manner, and many hundreds have petitioned the State to aid them with a loan for that purpose; they believe they can not only repay the loan with interest, but by their productive labor, of which they propose to share the profit with the State treasury, they can do much towards filling the State's empty coffers, and paying its debts, to say nothing of the wealth which would be saved to the nation by the lowered death-rate of young women and children; an item, which alone would repay the State for all such expenditure as would be necessitated by the garden homesteads and industrial schools for which the working-women are persistently asking.

NORTH END MISSION.

While visiting the tenement houses at the North End, we were informed of a means for improving the moral and physical condition of the dwellers in that part of the city, and a note of inquiry addressed to Dr. Eben Tourjée, who has the management thereof, brought the following reply :—

Boston, March 22, 1870.

Hon. H. K. OLIVER, *Bureau Statistics of Labor.*

DEAR SIR :—In reply to your favor of 20th inst., I have the honor to submit the following brief statement of our mission work at the North End :—

The Boston North End Mission is located at No. 201 North (formerly Ann) Street, in the very centre of the most corrupt and degraded portion of the city. In its immediate vicinity exist upwards of 100 houses of ill-fame, and 400 grog-shops of the vilest character. It has a commodious chapel, with sittings for 450 persons; a missionary is engaged at a yearly salary, and a small but devoted band of Christian men and women combine with him to relieve the material and moral wants of the unfortunates of the locality.

The Sabbath school is held at 3 P. M., and gathers upwards of 200 children at each session.

Religious services are held in the chapel every evening.

An Industrial School, for instructing young girls in sewing and domestic economy, meets on Wednesday, and one for women on Friday afternoon of each week.

A school for instructing foreigners in the English language meets every week-day at 6 P. M.

A free reading-room is open at the chapel, daily, except during hours of service, and is supplied with all the leading dailies and principal religious papers, periodicals, &c.

A refreshment table, accessible at all hours of the day and evening, has been maintained for several months, at which soups, sandwiches and coffee are gratuitously furnished to all who apply.

The Mission, in its design and management, is wholly unsectarian. Leading men of all evangelical denominations are included in its Board of Managers. It has therefore claims upon Christians of every name.

So salutary has been its influence that the Chief of Police declares that, since its establishment, a much smaller force is required to keep that portion of the city in order. Hence it confidently appeals to all good citizens, and to municipal and legislative consideration, as a public economy.

Up to the present time, it has been maintained by the private benevolence of a few individuals. Its greatly enlarged sphere of operations now imperatively requires that it be placed upon a more substantial basis, and measures are on foot to purchase a building for its permanent home. Besides the Sunday school, an industrial school, under the oversight of Mrs. Governor Claflin, is held every Wednesday, with about 200 scholars—and another for fallen girls of the street, on Friday afternoon. Every Thursday evening a vocal concert, free, is given, and some of the best musical talent of the land has contributed to this office.

Very respectfully yours,

E. TOURJÉE.

EXPLANATORY NOTES TO TABLES.

No. 1, gives the general summing up of the returns from circulars to assessors; number of Blanks sent out and number returned with totals deduced.

No. 2, gives the number of occupations, in detail, to which Blanks 1 and 2 were sent, and number returned, with occupations corresponding.

No. 3, gives details connected with employés in mechanical establishments; total employés, 8,164; can neither read nor write, 404; number of children, 352; attending school, 191.

No. 4, gives details connected with manufacturing establishments; the employés number 17,495; those that can neither read nor write number 3,055; the children number 1,507, of whom 1,003 attend school, of whom some are reported as unable either to read or write.

To *Office No. 88*.—"Dwight Manufacturing Company," Chicopee, employing 1,600 persons, of whom 885, *more than fifty per cent., can neither read nor write*. In these two tables (3 and 4,) where wages and earnings are given, the upper number represents the highest, and the under number the lowest.

No. 5, gives the towns (and counties) to which Blank No. 3 was sent.

No. 6, gives the occupations or trades of parties to whom Blanks were sent, and who returned them with replies upon nationalities, wages, earnings, hours of labor per day, and time lost. Blanks sent, 237;* returned, 89,—from 59 Americans, 16 English, 6 Irish, 8 British Provincials and others.

No. 7, gives, in detail, cost of living, including rent, provisions, groceries, clothing, fuel, furniture, &c., &c.; some of them evidently founded on estimates. With these are given the annual earnings of the several respondents.

No. 8, gives the occupations or trades of respondents owning real estate, with nationality, age, years employed, whether married or

* Copies of this Blank were sent, on request, to parties not employés, some of whom were in other States.

single, number in family, number of rooms, wages, hours of labor, value of property, and amount of mortgage. There are 25 such owners, of whom 16 are Americans, 8 English, and 1 Scotch. Total valuation of their property, \$37,337, under mortgage to the amount of \$14,240, leaving \$23,097 paid for. But in this computation is included the property of a bookkeeper, with a salary of \$1,700, whose property amounts to \$2,200, clear of mortgage. Deducting this, as he is not a wage laborer, and also that of Office No. 68, whose property, valued at \$1,800, clear of mortgage, was inherited, together with \$600, a soldier's bounty money, (Office No. 127,) and there remain \$18,497 paid for by the wage-labor of 22 men, of the average age of 45 years; working in their present employment an average of $22\frac{3}{4}$ years; each thus saving, in that time, \$840.77, which gives as an annual saving for each year, from his wage-labor, the sum of \$36.96.

No. 9, gives the comparative wages (highest and lowest,) of the respondents for the years 1861 and 1869. To the question upon the comparative ratio between earnings and cost of living in those two years, the replies are unanimous, that the cost of living was increased in the greater ratio.

Wherever blank spaces appear in any of the tables, no replies to the questions were given.

TABLE No. 1.

General Summary of Blanks to Assessors, and of Blanks Nos. 1 and 2.

1. Number of Towns in Massachusetts,	335
2. Number of Boards of Assessors addressed,	*334
3. Number of Replies from said Boards,	324
4. Number of Manufacturing and Mechanical Establishments reported by Assessors,	3,043
5. Number of Blanks 1 and 2 sent to Employers,	1,248
6. Number of Blanks 1 and 2 returned <i>with</i> replies,	217
7. Number of Blanks 1 and 2 returned <i>without</i> replies,	51
8. Number of Blanks 1 and 2 <i>not returned</i> ,	980
9. Number of Occupations to which Blanks 1 and 2 were sent,	268
10. Number of Occupations replying to said Blanks,	114
11. Number of Towns to which said Blanks were sent,	148
12. Number of Towns from which replies were received,	122

* Boston omitted for future work.

TABLE No. 2.

Containing List of Occupations to which Blanks Nos. 1 and 2 were sent, and from which Blanks were returned.

OCCUPATIONS.	Blanks sent out.	Blanks re- turned.	OCCUPATIONS.	Blanks sent out.	Blanks re- turned.
Agricultural impl't makers,	6	1	Card clothing,	8	1
Auger makers,	2	—	Car makers,	6	2
Axes,	2	2	Carpenters,	25	1
Awls,	1	—	Carvers,	2	—
Axles,	3	—	Carpeting,	7	2
Anchors,	3	—	Chairs,	10	3
Arms, (Fire,)	3	1	Cigar makers,	7	3
Bakers,	8	1	Comb makers,	8	3
Boiler makers,	3	1	Confectioners,	3	1
Baskets,	4	1	Coopers,	8	2
Belting,	5	—	Coppersmiths,	4	—
Blacksmiths,	7	—	Cotton factories,	85	24
Bunting,	1	—	Cracker bakers,	2	1
Boats,	6	2	Cotton yarns,	2	—
Bonnets,	4	1	“ hose,	2	—
Bookbinding,	3	—	Cassimeres,	4	—
Boxes,	6	1	Cotton gins,	1	—
Brass foundry,	1	—	Castings,	8	3
Brewery,	1	—	Children's wagons,	4	1
Bricks,	6	—	Chocolate,	3	1
Brittania ware,	2	—	Cutlery,	2	—
Brooms,	4	—	Crucibles,	1	—
Brushes,	4	1	Clay company,	1	—
Butchers,	5	1	Charcoal,	2	—
Braids,	2	—	Crash,	2	—
Boot lacings,	2	—	Cordage,	3	1
Bleacheries,	8	1	Copper pumps,	1	—
Blind fixtures,	2	—	Chemicals,	4	1
Blankets,	2	1	Condensed milk,	1	—
Buttons,	5	1	Corsets,	1	1
Boots and shoes,	77	13	Cork soles,	1	—
Battings,	4	1	Card board,	1	—
Balmorals,	2	—	Cheese factories,	4	2
Bone mills,	2	1	Counterpanes,	1	1
Bacon works,	2	1	Curriers,	20	3
Bit stocks,	1	—	Cotton threads,	3	—
Bobbins,	3	1	Clocks,	3	—
Brackets,	1	—	Clothing,	2	—
Bonnet wire,	1	—	Curled hair,	1	—
Bolt works,	1	—	Cotton duck,	2	1
Cabinet makers,	16	1	Carriage smiths,	3	—
Carriages,	12	2	“ trimmings,	2	—
			“ painter,	1	1
			Cloaks,	1	—

TABLE No. 2—Continued.

OCCUPATIONS.	Blanks sent out.	Blanks re-turned.	OCCUPATIONS.	Blanks sent out.	Blanks re-turned.
Cartridges,	1	1	Jewelry,	3	—
Distillers,	3	—	Jute,	2	—
Drain pipe,	1	—	Kerseymeres,	1	—
Drums,	2	2	Knitting machines,	1	—
Dessicated fish,	1	—	Kerosene works,	1	1
Diaries,	2	—	Lime,	2	2
Dye works,	6	1	Lard,	2	—
Delaines,	1	—	Leather,	2	—
Elastic cording,	3	1	Lumber,	6	2
Earthen ware,	2	1	Lead works,	3	2
Edge tools,	1	1	Linen,	1	—
Emery,	1	—	Linen coats,	2	—
Envelopes,	2	1	Locomotives,	2	—
Felting,	2	—	Looms,	2	2
Flour and meal,	3	1	Loom harnesses,	1	—
mills,	2	—	Lasts,	3	—
Furniture,	6	—	Looking-glass frames,	1	1
Flannel printing,	1	—	Ladders,	2	—
Files,	2	2	Laundries,	2	1
Forges,	1	1	Marble works,	1	—
Fishing rods,	1	—	Merchandise tags,	1	—
Flower frames,	1	—	Matches,	5	1
Furs,	1	—	Machine knives,	1	—
Flannel mills,	3	1	Mill machinery,	2	1
Fancy woollen goods,	2	—	Magnesia,	1	—
Fellmonger,	1	—	Moccasins,	1	—
Fire extinguisher,	1	—	Meat choppers,	1	—
Farmers,	7	—	Machine shops,	5	—
Gimp works,	1	—	Mathematical instruments,	1	—
Guano,	1	1	Medicines,	2	—
Gas,	1	1	Masons,	1	—
Glue,	3	—	Nurseries,	5	—
Ginghams,	1	1	Neckties,	2	1
Glass,	6	2	Nails,	7	3
Horn goods,	1	—	Oils,	1	—
Harnesses,	2	—	Oil cloths,	1	—
Hosiery,	8	1	Organs,	8	3
Hoop skirts,	6	2	" pipes,	2	—
Hats and caps,	7	2	Painters,	14	1
Horse powers,	1	1	Plumbers,	2	1
Ice,	4	—	Patent leather,	1	—
Ice tools,	1	—	Planes,	2	1
Isinglass,	1	—	Perfumery,	1	—
Iron works,	8	1	Printing,	3	1

TABLE No. 2—Concluded.

OCCUPATIONS.	Blanks sent out.	Blanks re- turned.	OCCUPATIONS.	Blanks sent out.	Blanks re- turned.
Printers' ink,	1	-	Steam-engines,	2	1
Piano-forte materials,	4	-	Shoe tools,	4	1
Potters,	2	-	Sand works,	1	-
Paper bags,	3	1	Snuff,	2	-
“ collars,	3	-	Shafting,	1	-
Paper,	22	8	Satinets,	6	1
Peat,	1	-	Screw works,	1	-
Pyrotechnics,	1	-	Sugar refineries,	1	-
Planing mills,	2	-	Sieves,	1	1
Pegging machines,	2	-	Superphosphate,	1	1
Palm-leaf hats,	4	2	School furniture,	1	-
Pencils,	2	-	Sleighs,	2	1
Powder works,	3	-	Stonecutters,	4	-
Porte-monnaies,	3	-			
Picture frames,	1	-	Thread and twine,	4	1
Paints and drugs,	1	-	Tailors,	3	-
Print works,	5	-	Tapes,	3	1
			Tube works,	1	-
Quarries,	4	-	Twine,	1	-
			Tacks,	1	-
Reeds,	1	-	Towels,	1	-
Refrigerators,	1	-	Tubs and pails,	6	-
Rubber works,	3	1	Tin and sheet iron,	4	-
Rattan works,	2	1	Tap and dies,	1	-
Rakes,	1	-	Toys,	2	2
Roll covering,	1	-	Trunks,	1	1
Rolling mills,	1	-	Tobacco factories,	1	-
Sewing machines,	3	-	Vises,	1	1
Steam-pumps,	2	-	Varnish,	2	-
Soap and candles,	8	4	Vinegar,	1	-
Stereotyping,	2	1	Vulcanized Wood Co.,	1	-
Sashes, doors and blinds,	9	-			
Spring beds,	1	-	Wagons,	1	-
Spools,	2	-	Woollen factories,	55	22
Shoe pegs,	1	-	Wheels, &c.,	1	1
Silver ware,	1	-	Woollen yarns,	2	1
Starch and gum,	1	-	Whips and lashes,	6	1
Shuttles,	3	-	Wooden ware,	6	-
Spectacles,	1	1	Worsteds,	4	3
Ship builders,	8	-	Wood turning,	2	-
Saw makers,	2	1	Watches,	1	-
Shoe stock,	5	1	Water wheels,	3	1
Sewing silk,	2	-	Wallets,	1	-
Skates,	1	1	Wrenches,	1	-
Straw goods,	10	1	Wire cloth,	3	-
Saw and grist mills,	8	3	Wool pulling,	2	-
Shoddy,	7	1	Woollen machinery,	1	-
Stoves,	4	1			
Seine twine,	1	-	Zinc factory,	1	1
Soda fountains,	1	-			

TABLE No. 3.
Nationalities, Wages, Hours of Labor, Habits, Education, &c.

Office No.	TOWN.	TRADE.	NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED.						Total.	Number that cannot read or write.	Children that attend school.	Hours of Labor per week.		Time for dinner—hours.	Distance from home—miles.
			NATIVE.			FOREIGN.						Adults.	Child'n.		
			Men.	Women.	Child'n.	Men.	Women.	Child'n.							
61	Egremont.	Axles.	20	—	—	40	—	—	60	—	—	60	—	1	1
197	Springfield.	Firearms.	180	5	5	15	—	—	205	5	—	60	60	1	1
139	Medfield.	Bakery.	5	1	—	2	1	—	9	—	—	60	—	1	1
221	New Bedford.	Boilers.	10	—	—	2	—	—	12	—	—	60	—	1	1
215	Cambridge.	Brushes.	6	3	1	7	30	3	50	3	—	60	—	1	1
178	Brighton.	Butcher.	9	—	—	22	—	3	34	6	—	60	—	1	1
166	Somerville.	Bleaching.	3	—	1	133	1	30	168	—	—	62	62	1	1
32	Leominster.	Buttons.	1	9	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	60	—	1	1
22	Salem.	Boots and Shoes.	3	—	—	1	—	—	4	—	—	52	—	1	1
10	Hopkinton.	Boots.	41	3	1	108	16	7	176	—	8	60	60	1	1
63	Stoneham.	Boots and Shoes.	55	65	—	12	15	5	152	—	5	59	48	1	1
33	Randolph.	"	30	22	—	79	13	—	144	3	—	60	—	1	1
127	Brookfield.	"	95	40	15	40	—	10	200	24	25	60	60	1	1
225	Weymouth.	"	5	—	1	1	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	1	1
191	Pembroke.	"	14	5	1	—	—	—	20	—	—	60	—	1	1
202	Webster.	"	85	—	—	40	114	9	248	—	—	60	—	1	1
208	Spencer.	"	15	2	—	53	—	—	70	33	—	60	—	1	1
161	Westport.	Batting.	39	24	21	1	—	2	87	—	All.	67½	67½	1	1
107	So. Amesbury.	Carriages.	7	—	—	8	—	—	15	—	—	54	—	1	1
30	Salisbury.	"	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	—	—	—	—	1	1
98	Taunton.	Cars.	—	—	—	—	—	—	65	—	—	60	—	1	1
163	Sandwich.	"	30	—	—	—	—	—	30	—	—	60	—	1	1

TABLE No. 3—Continued.

Office No.	TOWN.	TRADE.	NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED.						Total.	Number that cannot read or write.	Children that attend school.	Hours of Labor per week.		Time for dinner—hours.	Distance from home—miles.
			NATIVE.			FOREIGN.						Adults.	Child'n.		
			Men.	Women.	Child'n.	Men.	Women.	Child'n.							
53	Burlington,	Carpet & Print Wks,	2	-	1	8	-	3	14	-	3	54	54	1	1
114	Westborough,	Straw & Vel. Hats,	45	55	3	-	-	-	103	3	-	-	-	1	1
138	Wrentham,	Carpet Yarns,	6	-	2	8	-	3	17	-	-	63	63	1	1
149	Gardner,	Chairs,	60	-	-	10	-	10	80	-	-	60	60	1	1
76	Hubbardston,	"	20	-	-	5	-	-	25	-	-	-	-	1	1
158	Dover,	Cigars,	6	2	-	2	-	-	10	-	-	58	58	1	1
9	Westfield,	"	18	9	-	29	7	-	63	-	-	60	60	1	1
223	Lawrence,	Robbins, Spools,	32	-	4	2	-	-	38	-	-	60	60	1	1
117	Leominster,	Combs, Buttons, &c.,	16	5	3	6	6	4	40	-	7	60	60	1	1
160	West Newbury,	Combs,	5	4	-	32	-	9	50	8	-	60	60	1	1
109	Cambridgeport,	Cracker Baker,	10	-	-	12	-	-	23	-	-	59	59	1	1
192	West Dedham,	Malleable Iron,	37	-	-	13	-	-	50	5	-	59	59	1	1
193	Plymouth,	Stoves,	53	-	-	-	-	-	53	-	-	59	59	1	1
226	Chelsea,	Castings,	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	-	60	60	1	1
103	Worthington,	Children's Sleds,	7	-	1	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	1	1
126	Dorchester,	Chocolate,	7	2	16	-	-	-	25	-	-	-	-	1	1
70	Hingham,	Cordage,	1	-	-	3	-	3	7	-	-	60	60	1	1
115	Salem,	Alum, Blue Vitrol,	35	-	-	2	-	-	37	-	-	55½	55½	1	1
201	West Brookfield,	Corsets,	3	60	-	-	-	-	65	-	-	59	59	1	1
143	Winchester,	Curriers & Tan'nrs,	16	-	-	-	2	-	100	9	-	59	59	1	1
183	New Bedford,	"	20	4	4	12	-	3	43	-	-	-	-	1	1
55	Pembroke,	Carriage Painter,	-	-	-	6	-	2	-	-	-	60	60	1	1
105	Granville,	Drums and Toys,	22	2	3	1	2	-	30	-	4	60	60	1	1
23	"	"	17	3	4	2	-	-	26	5	-	-	-	1	1

181	Chelsea,	Dye Works,	6	11	-	52	92	18	179	38	-	66	66	1
73	Sterling,	Earthen Ware,	7	-	2	2	-	-	11	-	-	60	60	1
75	Springfield,	Envelopes,	7	20	-	2	4	2	35	-	2	59	59	1
67	Lawrence,	Flour and Meal,	11	-	-	6	-	-	17	1	1	60	60	1
37	Buckland,	Files,	2	-	1	1	-	2	6	1	1	60	60	1
196	Hanover,	Forges, Anchors,	12	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	1
195	Gloicester,	Hoop Skirts,	1	70	-	-	25	-	97	-	-	60	60	1
140	Waltham,	"	1	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	63	63	1
66	Harvard,	Agricult'l Imple'ts,	7	-	-	1	-	-	8	-	-	60	60	1
179	Winthrop,	Oils,	10	-	-	10	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	1
190	Essex,	Fishing Lines,	-	-	5	5	-	-	5	-	-	66	66	1
1102	Lenox,	Lime,	7	2	-	18	-	-	27	2	-	60	60	1
2203	Lowell,	Lumber,	25	-	50	50	-	-	75	40	-	66½	66½	1
8	"	"	21	-	46	46	-	-	67	-	-	60	60	1
77	Salem,	Lead and L. Pipe,	31	-	-	-	-	-	31	-	-	53	53	1
101	Taunton,	White Lead,	7	-	8	8	-	-	15	-	-	60	60	1
47	Worcester,	Looms, &c.,	28	-	2	2	-	-	30	-	-	60	60	1
151	"	"	57	-	8	86	-	20	171	-	-	60	60	1
72	Newton,	Shirts,	2	5	-	1	22	-	30	6	-	60	60	1
128	Chelmsford,	Machinery,	43	-	-	20	-	1	64	3	-	59¼	59¼	1
1116	Reading,	Neckties,	3	165	-	20	-	2	176	-	-	57	57	1
19	Fairhaven,	Tacks,	40	15	2	2	-	1	60	2	3	55	55	1
212	Raynham,	Nails,	6	-	4	-	-	-	10	-	4	55	55	1
185	Sturbridge,	Satinets,	4	1	4	10	7	5	27	11	3	66	66	1
133	Boston,	Organs,	173	9	70	70	-	-	252	-	-	60	60	1
217	"	"	55	1	52	52	-	-	108	-	-	59	59	1
220	Peabody,	Painter,	6	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	60	60	1
24	Springfield,	Plumbing,	5	-	-	2	-	3	12	-	-	60	60	1
51	Williamstown,	Planes,	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	1
74	Boston,	Printers,	33	2	1	18	5	8	67	-	-	59	59	1
148	Watertown,	Paper and Bags,	-	-	-	-	-	-	70	-	-	-	-	1

TABLE No. 3—Continued.

Office No.	TOWN.	TRADE.	NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED.						Total.	Number that cannot read or write.	Children that attend school.	Hours of Labor per week.		Time for dinner—hours.	Distance from home—miles.
			NATIVE.			FOREIGN.						Adults.	Child'n.		
			Men.	Women.	Child'n.	Men.	Women.	Child'n.							
176	Amherst, .	Palmleaf Hats, .	29	10	1	3	—	1	44	—	2	60	60	1	1
7	Fitchburg, .	“	9	7	1	—	—	—	17	—	1	58	58	1	1
4	Dana, .	“	10	8	1	—	—	—	19	—	—	60	60	—	—
111	Wareham, .	Paper, .	9	6	—	—	4	—	19	2	—	—	—	—	—
123	Lawrence, .	“	26	5	—	47	18	—	96	23	—	72	—	—	—
52	Walpole, .	“	19	3	—	9	2	—	33	5	—	—	—	—	—
174	Dalton, .	“	12	4	—	9	17	2	40	6	2	60	60	1	1
6	“	“	7	10	—	3	20	—	40	4	—	60	60	1	1
17	“	“	5	4	—	7	17	2	35	—	—	60	60	1	1
48	Holyoke, .	“	12	20	—	50	93	—	175	31	—	58	—	1	1
100	Easthampton, .	Rubber Thread, .	8	—	2	32	—	1	43	4	3	60	60	1	1
28	Fitchburg, .	Rattan Works, .	12	29	2	38	—	—	81	6	2	60	60	1	1
164	Cambridgeport, .	Stereotyping, .	3	—	—	11	—	—	14	—	—	59	—	1	1
129	Woburn, .	Saws, .	3	—	—	6	—	—	9	6	—	59	—	1	1
12	“	Shoe Stock, .	18	5	3	5	75	45	151	24	48	57½	57½	1	1
180	Springfield, .	Skates, .	6	—	2	10	—	—	18	1	—	60	54	1	1
5	Foxborough, .	Straw Goods, .	250	500	—	—	—	—	750	—	—	—	—	1	1
401	Newton, .	Rolling Mill, .	8	—	—	18	—	—	26	6	—	63½	—	1	1
403	Lowell, .	Cartridges, .	12	10	—	—	—	1	23	—	—	60	—	1	1
405	Peabody, .	Curriers, .	—	—	—	—	—	—	125	—	—	60	—	1	1
407	Westminster, .	Chairs, .	40	—	—	1	—	—	41	—	—	54	—	1	1
408	Leominster, .	Piano Cases, .	19	—	—	—	—	—	19	—	—	60	—	1	1
79	Leicester, .	Shoddy & Lumber, .	2	1	1	1	—	—	10	—	1	60	48	1	1
210	Canton, .	Hardware, &c., .	7	1	2	15	2	3	30	—	—	60	60	1	1

184	Worthington,	Seive Hoops,	4	—	2	—	—	—	—	6	—	2	60	1
16	Westborough,	Sleighs,	5	—	—	10	—	—	—	15	—	—	—	—
216	Worcester,	Spool Cotton,	17	—	80	—	—	—	—	97	—	—	—	—
59	Andover,	Shoe Thread,	—	—	—	—	—	50	—	250	—	—	64½	—
125	Hanover,	Nails and Tacks,	22	10	8	3	2	—	—	50	—	All.	59	—
124	Charlton,	Toys,	7	2	1	1	—	—	—	11	—	—	—	—
94	Winchendon,	Toy Wagons,	3	2	2	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	54	—
110	Fitchburg,	Vises,	11	—	—	2	—	—	—	13	—	—	—	—
206	Amesbury,	Carriage Wheels,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	60	—
168	New Marlboro',	Whips and Lashes,	—	43	11	—	4	2	—	60	—	All.	—	—
165	Orange,	Water Wheels,	17	—	—	2	—	—	—	19	—	—	—	—
185	Boston,	Organs,	48	—	—	29	—	3	—	80	—	None.	60	—
34	Needham,	Hosiery,	2	4	—	86	25	—	—	117	—	None.	60	—
134	Lawrence,	Steam-Engines,	19	—	—	40	—	1	—	60	—	—	60	—
406	Easthampton,	Suspenders,	11	45	19	35	154	36	—	300	—	All.	60	—
64	Somerset,	Stoves,	22	—	2	3	—	—	—	27	—	—	54	—
35	Easthampton,	Elastic Fabrics,	15	28	12	27	22	16	—	120	—	All.	60	—
13	New Bedford,	Gas,	3	—	—	7	—	—	—	10	—	—	77	—
108	Brookline,	"	1	—	—	5	—	—	—	6	—	—	84	—
141	—	Guano,	37	—	—	30	—	—	—	67	—	—	60	—
211	Chelmsford,	Edge Tools,	24	—	—	1	—	—	—	25	—	—	60	—
14	Newburyport,	Soft Hats,	39	44	—	44	3	3	—	133	—	All.	60	—
99	Methuen,	"	15	16	6	25	—	8	—	70	—	None.	60	—
159	Somerset,	Iron and Nails,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	220	—	—	60	—
188	Lowell,	Wool,	3	—	—	4	—	—	—	7	—	—	64½	—

TABLE No. 3—Continued.

Office No.	TOWN.	TRADE.	Wages per day.			Earnings per month.			Piece Earnings per month.			Per cent. of temperate.
			Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.	
61	Egremont, .	Axles, .	\$3 50	-	-	\$84 00	-	-	-	-	-	100
197	Springfield, .	Firearms, .	1 50	-	-	35 00	-	-	-	-	-	67
139	Medfield, .	Bakery,* .	1 75	\$1 25	\$1 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
221	New Bedford, .	Boilers, .	2 33	1 00	67	40 58	\$13 00	-	-	-	-	100
215	Cambridge, .	Brushes, .	3 33	50	-	8 58	10 92	-	-	-	-	100
178	Brighton, .	Butcher, .	1 50	42	-	86 67	-	-	-	-	-	-
166	Somerville, .	Bleaching,* .	3 33	-	-	42 00	-	-	-	-	-	25
32	Leominster, .	Buttons, .	1 50	1 33	1 16	-	-	-	-	-	-	75
22	Salem, .	Boots and Shoes, .	2 25	75	-	71 88	26 50	\$20 50	-	-	-	100
10	Hopkinton, .	Boots, .	1 00	62	62	36 13	-	17 25	-	-	-	-
63	Stoneham, .	Boots and Shoes, .	1 50	1 50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	Randolph, .	" "	-	83	-	69 33	-	-	-	-	-	-
			2 67	-	-	30 33	-	-	\$78 00	\$52 00	\$26 00	-
			1 68	-	1 00	78 00	-	26 00	52 00	23 00	19 00	-
			3 00	-	67	52 00	-	17 50	63 00	28 00	12 00	95
			2 00	1 67	-	92 00	63 00	-	120 00	63 00	18 00	-
			3 50	1 17	-	50 00	28 00	-	75 00	28 00	12 00	-
			2 50	-	-	65 00	-	-	75 00	32 50	-	93
			1 50	-	-	39 00	-	-	26 00	20 00	-	-

127	Brookfield,	Boots and Shoes,	\$3 33	\$1 25	—	\$83 33	\$30 00	—	\$102 00	\$42 00	—	50
225	Weymouth,	"	2 25	1 00	—	54 00	25 00	—	36 00	19 00	—	100
191	Pembroke,	"	2 00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
202	Webster,	"	4 50	2 20	\$0 50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
208	Spencer,	"	1 75	70	—	69 93	—	—	—	—	\$17 80	70
161	Westport,	"	2 50	—	—	40 50	—	—	90 60	32 15	—	—
107	So. Amesbury,	"	1 50	—	—	—	—	—	65 25	27 89	—	—
30	Salisbury,	"	3 50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
98	Taunton,	"	2 00	—	—	65 22	26 00	\$16 00	—	—	—	87
163	Sandwich,	"	2 50	1 00	66	75 00	12 35	7 00	—	—	—	87
53	Burlington,	"	91	50	33	39 00	—	—	—	—	—	100
114	Westborough,	"	3 00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100
138	Wrentham,	"	1 67	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100
149	Gardner,	"	5 00	—	—	75 00	—	—	—	—	—	—
76	Hubbardston,	"	3 00	—	—	31 25	—	—	—	—	—	—
			1 25	—	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			3 00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			1 67	—	—	78 00	—	—	—	60 00	—	99
			3 25	—	—	32 50	—	—	—	25 00	—	—
			1 50	—	—	72 00	26 83	—	—	—	—	—
			3 00	1 00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			1 50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			3 00	—	—	78 00	—	—	104 00	—	—	—
			1 00	—	—	26 00	—	—	39 00	—	—	—
			2 80	—	—	65 00	—	—	67 00	—	—	—
			1 40	—	—	13 00	—	—	10 00	—	—	100

* With board.

TABLE No. 3—Continued.

Office No.	TOWN.	TRADE.	Wages per day.			Earnings per month.			Piece Earnings per month.			Per cent. of temperate.
			Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.	
158	Dover, .	Cigars, .	\$4 00	\$1 50	-	-	-	-	\$96 00	-	-	50
			2 00	83	-	-	-	-	44 00	-	-	
9	Westfield, .	" .	3 33	1 20	-	\$78 66	\$28 00	-	76 75	\$29 00	-	-
			1 67	1 16	-	43 33	24 00	-	75 00	22 00	-	-
228	Lawrence, .	Bobbins, .	3 25	-	\$0 92	78 00	-	\$20 83	-	-	-	-
			1 00	-	83	26 00	-	-	-	-	-	-
117	Leominster, .	Combs & Buttons,	3 00	1 00	60	75 00	26 00	16 00	-	-	-	-
			1 75	83	50	42 00	22 00	10 00	-	-	-	-
160	West Newbury, .	" "	3 00	1 25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	87
			1 50	1 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
109	Cambridgeport, .	Crackers, .	4 00	1 00	-	132 00	-	-	-	-	-	-
			1 00	-	-	35 00	-	-	-	-	-	-
192	West Dedham, .	Malleable Iron, .	5 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
			1 50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
193	Plymouth, .	Stoves, .	5 00	-	-	110 90	-	-	124 00	-	-	-
			2 75	-	-	55 25	-	-	51 34	-	-	-
226	Chelsea, .	Castings, .	3 50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
			1 75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
103	Worthington, .	Sleds, .	1 50	-	-	40 00	-	-	-	-	-	100
			-	-	-	35 00	-	-	-	-	-	-
126	Dorchester, .	Chocolate, .	3 00	1 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
70	Hingham, .	Cordage, .	2 25	-	67	55 00	-	16 00	-	-	-	100
			83	-	67	-	-	14 00	-	-	-	-
115	Salem, .	Chemicals, .	2 33	-	-	60 00	-	-	-	-	-	100
			1 50	-	-	30 00	-	-	-	-	-	-

201	West Brookfield,	Corsets, . .	\$4 00	-	-	\$87 00	-	-	\$61 18	100
			3 00	-	-	75 00	-	-	57 96	-
143	Winchester,	Currier & Tanner,	3 33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
			1 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	95
183	New Bedford,	" "	2 83	\$1 00	-	68 00	-	-	-	-
			1 00	1 00	-	30 00	-	-	-	-
55	Pembroke, .	Carriage Paint'g,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
105	Granville, .	Drums and Toys,	2 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
			1 50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	" . .	" "	2 50	1 10	\$0 80	60 00	-	-	-	100
			1 10	90	38	26 00	-	-	-	-
181	Chelsea, .	Dye Works,	3 00	1 00	66	78 00	\$26 00	\$12 71	-	-
			2 00	1 00	50	51 36	-	-	-	100
73	Sterling, .	Earthen Ware, .	3 50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
			2 25	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
75	Springfield,	Envelopes, . .	2 50	1 50	75	62 50	37 50	17 00	35 00	-
			1 00	75	50	25 00	23 00	11 50	28 00	-
67	Lawrence, .	Flour and Meal,	6 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
			1 50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	Buckland, .	Files, . .	3 00	-	50	-	-	-	-	-
			75	-	25	-	-	-	-	-
196	Hanover, .	Forges & Anchors,	5 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
			1 50	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
195	Gloucester,	Hoop Skirts, .	2 50	2 00	-	65 00	52 00	-	28 00	-
			-	50	-	-	12 00	-	9 00	-
140	Waltham, .	" "	-	1 25	-	-	-	-	-	-
			-	1 00	-	-	-	-	-	100
66	Harvard, .	Farming Tools, .	3 50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
179	Winthrop, .	Oil, . .	2 25	-	-	64 00	-	-	-	-
			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE No. 3—Continued.

Office No.	TOWN.	TRADE.	Wages per day.			Earnings per month.			Piece Earnings per month.			Per cent. of temperate.
			Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.	
190	Essex, .	Fishing Lines, .	\$1 75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
			1 50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
102	Lenox, .	Lime, .	2 00	-	-	\$48 50	-	-	-	-	-	33
			1 50	-	-	30 00	-	-	-	-	-	
203	Lowell, .	Lumber, .	3 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
			1 25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	" .	" .	3 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
			1 50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
77	Salem, .	Lead & L'd Pipe, .	3 00	-	-	78 00	-	-	-	-	-	100
			83	-	-	20 83	-	-	-	-	-	
101	Taunton, .	White Lead, .	3 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
			1 75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
47	Worcester, .	Looms, .	3 75	-	-	93 75	-	-	-	-	-	83
			2 00	-	-	20 55	-	-	-	-	-	-
151	" .	" .	5 00	-	-	126 75	-	-	-	-	-	-
			1 67	-	-	31 12	-	-	-	-	-	-
72	Newton, .	Shirts, .	2 00	\$2 00	-	52 00	\$46 74	-	\$46 76	76	-	100
			1 67	75	-	43 00	19 50	-	15 00	00	-	
128	Chelmsford, .	Machinery, .	2 75	-	-	64 35	-	-	-	-	-	95
			2 00	-	-	48 60	-	-	-	-	-	
116	Reading, .	Neckties, .	-	-	-	-	55 00	\$23 00	-	-	-	100
			-	-	-	-	23 00	-	-	-	-	
19	Fairhaven, .	Tacks, .	2 50	-	-	62 50	-	-	27 99	-	-	94
			1 50	-	-	30 00	-	-	13 05	-	-	
212	Raynham, .	Nails, .	1 75	-	-	125 00	-	-	-	-	-	-
			-	-	-	45 00	-	-	-	-	-	-

[illegible]

408	Leominster,	Piano Cases,	\$3 00	-	-	\$60 00	-	\$92 00	100
79	Leicester, .	Shoddy, .	1 50	-	-	37 00	-	43 50	99
210	Canton, .	Shoe Tools,	1 50	\$1 00	\$0 62	42 00	\$25 00	-	-
184	Worthington,	Sieve Hoops,	1 00	62	50	25 00	6 20	-	-
16	Westborough,	Sleighs, .	3 00	1 00	90	81 00	-	-	-
210	Worcester, .	Spool Cotton,	2 00	-	-	52 00	-	-	-
59	Andover, .	Shoe Thread,	1 50	-	50	39 00	\$12 00	-	100
125	Hanover, .	Nails and Tacks,	1 00	-	40	20 00	10 00	-	95
124	Charlton, .	Toys, .	4 00	-	-	110 00	-	-	-
94	Winchendon,	Toys, Wagons,	1 50	-	-	45 00	-	-	-
110	Fitchburg, .	Vises, .	-	1 02	-	-	-	-	-
206	Amesbury, .	Wheels, .	2 50	52	-	-	-	-	-
168	New Marlboro',	Whips, .	-	-	25	-	-	-	95
165	Orange, .	Water-Wheels,	1 00	84	-	-	-	-	33
185	Boston, .	Organs, .	2 00	-	1 00	76 50	-	104 65	-
34	Needham, .	Hosiery, .	3 00	1 00	40	36 32	-	48 75	100
			2 50	80	-	-	-	-	90
			3 50	-	1 20	-	-	-	100
			2 50	-	75	79 00	9 75	-	88
			-	40	18	58 50	1 18	-	100
			-	-	-	82 65	-	120 00	-
			-	-	-	53 72	-	79 68	-
			-	-	-	120 20	-	-	33
			-	-	-	45 00	-	-	-

TABLE No. 4—Cotton and Woollen Factories.

Office No.	TOWN.	NAME.	Number of Shares.	Par Value.	Amount of Capital Stock.	No. of Shares owned by Em- ployees.	NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED.						
							NATIVE.			FOREIGN.			Total.
							Men.	Women.	Child'n.	Men.	Women.	Child'n.	
57	South Hadley,	Glasgow Company,	3,500	\$100	\$350,000	0	15	4	-	150	143	42	354
227	Lowell,	Lawrence Manuf. Co.,	1,500	1,000	1,500,000	0	248	322	9	124	598	5	1,306
78	Blackstone,	Blackstone Manuf. Co.,	*	-	-	0	59	59	5	277	326	90	816
20	Lowell,	Merrinack Manuf. Co.,	2,500	1,500	2,500,000	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,063
150	Grafton,	Saunders Cotton Mill,	350	500	175,000	0	17	11	-	27	54	24	133
152	Lawrence,	Pemberton Company,	450	1,000	450,000	0	58	85	3	233	400	17	796
46	Chicopee,	Chicopee Manuf. Co.,	*	-	-	-	100	129	82	250	375	67	1,003
88	"	Dwight Manuf. Co.,	1,500	1,000	1,500,000	0	100	250	125	300	650	175	1,600
25	Newburyport,	Bartlett Steam Mills,	3,500	100	350,000	0	25	80	-	33	78	35	251
146	Fall River,	Watuppa Manuf. Co.,	1,000	75	75,000	0	10	34	51	25	37	13	170
120	"	Tecumseh Mills,	341	1,000	341,000	0	7	21	20	69	76	21	241
93	Newburyport,	Peabody Mills,	2,000	100	200,000	0	31	72	4	25	112	27	271
199	Taunton,	Dean Cot'n Machine Co.,	200	500	100,000	0	5	1	-	14	37	39	96
18	"	Eagle Cotton Company,	900	100	90,000	0	5	-	-	25	75	25	130
92	Holden,	Walker & Wright,	†	-	-	-	2	6	1	7	11	15	42
58	Lancaster,	Wilder's Mill,	†	-	-	-	5	5	1	10	15	14	50
31	West Springfield,	Agawam Canal Co.,	7,545	50	377,250	0	23	18	-	82	176	57	356
26	West Boylston,	E. W. Holbrook,	†	-	-	-	5	6	2	3	6	9	31
169	Palmer,	Thorndike Company,	450	1,000	450,000	0	43	20	2	103	137	67	372
175	"	Boston Duck Company,	500	700	350,000	0	16	10	2	47	81	77	233
130	Lowell,	Tremont Mills,	1,200	500	600,000	0	70	99	-	63	290	23	545

† Private.

* Not given.

TABLE No. 4—Continued.

Office No.	TOWN.	NAME.	Number of Shares.	Par Value.	Amount of Capital Stock.	No. of Shares owned by Em- ployes.	NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED.						Total.
							NATIVE.			FOREIGN.			
							Men.	Women.	Child'n.	Men.	Women.	Child'n.	
131	Northbridge,	Linwood Mills,	*	—	—	—	18	8	—	24	59	29	138
36	Lowell,	Suffolk Manuf. Co.,	1,200	\$500	\$600,000	0	86	150	—	78	212	—	526
91	"	Massa'tts Cotton Mills,	1,800	1,000	1,800,000	0	153	245	—	131	590	22	1,131
147	Holyoke,	Hadley Company,	600	100	600,000	0	39	61	—	61	139	136	436
404	Lawrence,	Lawrence Duck Co.,	120	1,000	120,000	0	21	33	—	34	90	—	178
45	Lowell,	Whipple's Mills,	*	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	17	6	29
65	Uxbridge,	Capron Mills,	*	—	—	—	17	18	8	18	10	—	71
182	"	Uxbridge Woollen Mill,	*	—	—	—	20	10	3	77	28	22	160
50	"	C. A. & S. M. Wheelock,	*	—	—	—	11	1	1	26	24	1	64
205	Southbridge,	Hamilton Woollen Co,	†	—	—	0	6	4	—	106	16	23	155
177	Spencer,	Valley Mills,	*	—	—	—	3	1	—	33	24	9	70
56	Stow,	B. W. Gleason,	*	—	—	—	10	8	—	35	16	12	81
194	Leicester,	Leicester Mills,	*	—	—	—	6	1	—	42	29	1	79
141	"	Rochdale Mills,	*	—	—	—	20	4	—	63	37	19	143
186	Groveland,	Groveland Mills,	*	—	—	—	—	—	—	78	50	26	154
172	Dudley,	O. F. Chase & Co.,	*	—	—	—	13	6	3	46	10	24	102
207	Dedham,	Thomas Barrows,	*	—	—	—	7	3	—	65	59	—	134
3	Holyoke,	J. Beebe,	*	—	—	—	15	6	3	24	15	30	93
113	"	New York Woollen Co.,	†	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
153	Pittsfield,	S. Poinroy & Sons,	*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	230
142	"	Russell's Mills,	*	—	—	—	—	—	—	55	43	12	110
122	Peabody,	Winona Woollen Mills,	*	—	—	—	12	3	4	20	16	5	60
2	Salisbury,	Salisbury Mills,	10,000	100	1,000,000	0	150	125	20	515	425	65	1,300

106	Adams, .	.	S. Blackington, .	*	-	-	40	42	3	122	63	32	300
145	Clinton, .	.	Lancaster Quilt Co., .	†	-	-	11	8	1	21	42	7	90
222	Lowell, .	.	Stott's Woollen Mill, .	*	-	-	-	-	-	29	19	16	64
400	Southbridge, .	.	Hamilton Woollen Co., .	†	-	-	74	67	7	235	334	155	872
60	Templeton, .	.	Otter River Company, .	200	\$100	\$20,000	5	101	-	18	23	8	155
218	Westford, .	.	Abbott Worsted Co., .	*	-	-	4	6	16	17	11	6	60

In column 7 of Table 4, pp. 387, '88 and '89, where 0 occurs, it signifies that there are no operatives who own shares. Where a dash (-) occurs, it signifies that no reply to the question was given.

* Private.

† Corporate.

TABLE No. 4—Continued.

Office No.	TOWN.	NAME.	No. of Persons that cannot Read or Write.						Children attending school.	Hours of Labor per week.			Time for dinner—hours.	Distance from home—miles.	Per cent. of temperate.	Length of time pay retained—days.
			M.	W.	Ch.	M.	W.	Ch.	Total.	Adults.	Child'n.	Sat.				
57	South Hadley,	Glasgow Company,	3	5	—	4	17	—	21	67 $\frac{3}{4}$	59	9	—	—	—	28
227	Lowell,	Lawrence Manuf. Co.,	—	—	0	113	372	—	493	66	66	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	14
78	Blackstone,	Blackstone Manuf. Co.,	—	—	—	26	82	15	143	66	60	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	4
20	Lowell,	Merrimack Manuf. Co.,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	66	—	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	100	14
150	Grafton,	Saunders Cotton Mill,	—	—	—	6	5	5	16	66	60	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	—
152	Lawrence,	Pemberton Company,	1	1	—	30	52	1	85	64 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{1}{4}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	—
46	Chicopee,	Chicopee Manuf. Co.,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	66	60	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	—
88	"	Dwight Manuf. Co.,	50	50	100	25	500	160	885	65 $\frac{3}{4}$	65 $\frac{3}{4}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	50	18
25	Newburyport,	Bartlett Steam Mills,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	66	66	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	14
146	Fall River,	Watuppa Manuf. Co.,	3	1	—	9	12	—	25	66	66	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	10
120	"	Tecumseh Mills,	—	5	8	10	16	15	54	66	66	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	—
93	Newburyport,	Peabody Mills,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
199	Taunton,	Dean Cot'n Machine Co.,	—	—	—	3	2	3	8	66	66	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	50	10
18	"	Eagle Cotton Company,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	66	66	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	21
92	Holden,	Walker & Wright,	—	—	1	1	—	—	2	69	69	9	—	—	90	15
58	Lancaster,	Wilder's Mill,	—	—	—	5	11	2	18	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	14
31	West Springfield,	Agawam Canal Co.,	—	—	—	15	17	7	39	66	60	9	—	—	—	12
26	West Boylston,	E. W. Holbrook,	—	—	—	4	4	2	10	68	68	—	—	—	—	15
169	Palmer,	Thorndike Company,	—	—	—	29	52	27	108	65	60	9	—	—	95	5
175	"	Boston Duck Company,	—	—	—	14	62	12	88	66	66	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	—
130	Lowell,	Tremont Mills,	—	—	—	16	154	6	176	66	60	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	3
131	Northbridge,	Linwood Mills,	—	—	—	6	9	7	22	66	63	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	15
36	Lowell,	Suffolk Manuf. Co.,	1	16	—	27	123	—	167	66	—	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	4
91	"	Massa'tts Cotton Mills,	—	—	—	20	209	—	229	66	66	—	—	—	—	—

[illegible]

TABLE No. 4.—Continued.

Office No.	DEPARTMENT.	Wages per Day.			Earnings per Month.			Piece Earnings per Month.			Time Lost, Day Workers.		
		Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.	M.	W.	Ch.
57	Carding Department,	\$2 50	\$1 05	\$0 70	\$60 00	\$25 20	\$16 80	-	\$25 30	-	-	2½	-
		1 00	75	50	24 00	18 00	12 00	-	23 92	-	-	-	-
	Spinning and Reeling,	2 75	1 00	65	66 00	24 00	15 60	-	31 15	-	-	12	-
		80	65	65	19 20	15 60	15 60	-	6 15	-	-	-	-
	Dressing-room,	2 25	98	-	54 00	23 52	-	\$47 56	32 40	-	-	-	-
		1 50	98	-	35 25	23 52	-	33 25	32 40	-	6	-	-
227	Weaving,	2 75	1 25	75	66 00	28 70	18 00	47 17	39 19	-	18	23½	-
		1 25	1 25	75	28 75	28 70	18 00	9 86	75	-	-	-	-
	Coloring,	4 00	-	-	96 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		1 25	-	-	28 75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Carding Department,	3 25	1 20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		1 25	75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
78	Spinning,	3 00	1 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		1 00	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Weaving,	3 25	1 15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		1 50	55	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Mule Spinning,	1 85	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		1 84	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
78	Carding Department,	4 50	1 25	50	108 00	30 00	12 00	-	33 00	-	-	1½	1½
		92	67	29	22 00	16 00	7 00	-	18 00	-	-	1½	1½
	Spinning	4 00	1 25	50	93 00	30 00	12 00	29 00	25 00	\$14 00	-	1½	1½
		67	67	21	13 33	13 33	7 00	12 00	12 00	7 00	-	-	-
	Dressing	4 00	71	-	96 00	17 00	-	64 00	40 00	-	-	-	-
		1 25	-	-	30 00	-	-	30 00	34 00	-	-	-	-
	Weaving	4 00	1 50	-	94 00	34 00	-	52 00	45 00	-	-	-	-
		1 17	67	-	27 00	16 00	-	12 00	12 00	-	-	-	-

78	Cloth Room, . . .	{ \$2 75	\$1 67	-	\$57 75	\$25 00	-	-	-	\$36 04	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
20	Mechanic's Department,	1 62	1 08	-	36 97	18 96	-	-	-	23 00	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Drawing	2 50	-	-	42 50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
	Roving	1 33	-	-	16 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
	Weaving	-	77	-	-	18 48	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
	Carding	-	77	-	-	18 48	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Spinning	-	94	-	-	27 49	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
	Dressing	-	80	-	-	17 20	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
	Weaving	-	-	-	-	25 65	-	-	-	-	-	-	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
150	Carding	-	-	-	-	20 15	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
	Spinning	3 00	1 25	-	58 87	13 06	-	-	-	13 06	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
	Dressing	83	67	-	11 77	11 04	-	-	-	11 04	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Weaving	-	-	-	60 75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
	Cloth Room, . . .	\$0 58	-	-	13 75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
	Carding Department,	33	1 25	-	46 75	17 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
	Spinning	50	1 00	-	13 00	6 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
	Dressing	40	1 25	-	66 00	18 75	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
	Weaving	-	1 00	-	13 50	10 62	-	-	-	-	-	-	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
	Cloth Room, . . .	-	2 00	-	35 37	17 68	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
152	Carding Department,	-	2 00	-	-	15 37	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
	Spinning	75	1 17	-	46 00	28 00	-	-	-	18 00	-	-	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
	Dressing	75	1 75	-	28 00	18 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Weaving	58	1 08	-	49 00	26 00	-	-	-	14 00	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Drawing in, . . .	50	75	-	22 50	18 00	-	-	-	6 00	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
	-	-	2 00	-	40 50	38 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	83	83	-	15 21	30 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	2 17	1 50	-	49 83	40 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	92	83	-	23 50	22 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE No. 4—Continued.

Office No.	DEPARTMENT.	Wages per Day.			Earnings per Month.			Piece Earnings per Month.			Time Lost, Day Workers.		
		Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Childr'n.
88	Carding Department,	\$4 00	\$1 17	\$0 50	-	\$23 35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Spinning	3 50	75	50	-	21 40	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
	Dressing	1 00	62	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Weaving	3 00	1 00	67	-	-	-	\$42 32	-	-	-	-	-
		1 17	67	50	-	-	-	25 36	-	-	-	-	-
		3 50	1 33	50	-	-	-	46 00	\$20 50	3 50	-	-	-
		1 00	67	50	-	-	-	22 12	11 00	18 00	-	-	-
		3 75	67	50	-	-	-	48 00	32 72	12 00	-	-	-
25	Carding	1 10	71	42	-	-	-	24 00	16 00	-	-	-	-
		1 10	66	37½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
146	Carding	3 00	1 01½	81	\$78 00	15 44	\$10 13	-	-	-	-	-	-
		1 00	81	50	11 50	5 67	6 50	-	-	-	12½	11	12½
	Mule Spinning,	2 50	-	83	53 75	-	16 81	25 21	-	-	17	17	12
	Frame	1 50	-	33½	29 25	-	6 00	1 93	-	-	4½	3½	6
		1 50	75	-	24 00	9 75	-	-	-	-	8	12	-
		-	-	50	-	-	6 50	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Weaving,	3 00	1 43	83	72 00	25 74	4 50	-	24 89	-	2½	-	-
		1 83	-	75	39 35	-	8 00	51 48	15 18	8 97	-	-	13
	Spooling,	2 50	-	66	42 50	-	6 00	27 33	19 83	1 98	-	-	13
		-	1 00	50	-	-	9 75	-	-	7 68	-	-	-
120	Carding Department,	1 50	1 00	65	22 50	15 00	7 70	-	-	-	-	-	-
		1 37	-	55	19 25	-	4 80	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Spinning,	1 83	-	75	29 33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		-	-	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Weaving,	1 50	1 50	-	22 50	-	-	41 10	36 60	15 90	-	-	-
		-	1 25	-	18 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[illegible]

TABLE No. 4.—Continued.

Office No.	DEPARTMENT.	Wages per Day.			Earnings per Month.			Piece Earnings per Month.			Time Lost, Day Workers.		
		Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Childr'n.
31	Dressing Department,	{ \$3 00	\$0 96	-	\$72 00	\$17 25	-	\$36 80	\$21 60	\$11 70	-	6	-
	Weaving	{ 1 50	92	-	27 00	16 50	-	35 92	9 50	8 40	-	7	-
	"	{ 3 50	1 17	-	84 00	21 00	-	-	22 75	-	-	6	-
	"	{ 1 00	-	-	19 00	-	-	-	13 75	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
169	Carding Department,	{ 2 75	1 00	75	71 50	31 36	\$18 57	-	31 36	-	-	-	-
	"	{ 1 17	75	42	15 00	19 50	3 45	-	21 06	-	3	-	9
	Spinning	{ 2 75	1 00	75	71 50	25 75	18 20	49 06	30 84	-	-	-	-
	"	{ 1 17	75	42	14 29	11 87	1 33	41 97	8 64	-	-	-	-
	Weaving	{ 3 00	1 25	-	78 00	29 25	-	34 56	37 52	-	-	-	-
	"	{ 1 25	1 00	-	26 87	21 09	-	7 92	7 56	-	-	-	-
175	Carding	{ 2 75	70	60	71 50	18 20	15 60	-	28 80	-	-	-	-
	"	{ 1 00	50	40	26 00	13 00	10 40	-	19 26	-	-	-	-
	Spinning	{ 2 75	50	50	71 50	13 00	13 00	-	28 82	14 76	-	-	-
	"	{ 1 00	50	50	26 00	13 00	13 00	-	21 82	10 40	-	-	-
	Weaving	{ 2 25	50	50	58 50	13 00	13 00	42 64	39 26	23 46	-	-	-
	"	{ 1 25	50	50	32 50	13 00	13 00	23 46	16 00	16 50	-	-	-
130	Carding	{ 3 00	1 00	-	72 00	23 75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	"	{ 1 25	65	-	32 40	15 60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Spinning	{ 3 00	1 10	-	72 00	25 85	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	"	{ 1 25	65	-	30 00	15 60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Mule room,	{ 2 75	65	50	66 00	15 60	12 00	45 60	-	-	-	-	-
	"	{ 2 00	65	50	42 00	15 60	-	41 50	-	-	-	-	-
	Weaving,	{ 3 50	1 20	-	85 75	28 80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	"	{ 1 50	50	-	36 00	12 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE No. 4.—Continued.

Office No.	DEPARTMENT.	Wages per Day.			Earnings per Month.			Piece Earnings per Month.			Lost Time, Day Workers.		
		Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.
404*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	Combining room,	\$1 75	\$1 00	\$0 65	\$49 00	\$26 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Spinning "	1 25	90	-	-	19 50	\$15 60	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	Carding Department,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Weaving	3 00	67	67	77 25	-	17 17	-	-	-	-	-	-
	"	1 16	67	50	19 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	"	2 50	1 00	-	64 39	-	12 75	-	\$35 64	\$13 60	-	-	-
	"	1 25	-	-	31 25	-	-	-	11 35	-	-	-	-
	Cotton	2 25	67	42	-	27 35	7 31	-	-	-	-	-	-
	"	1 25	-	25	-	16 25	7 31	-	-	-	-	-	-
182	Carding	3 00	-	1 00	78 00	-	15 00	-	-	-	-	-	-
	"	1 12	-	60	27 56	-	14 40	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Spinning	2 00	-	-	51 00	-	-	\$40 72	-	-	-	-	-
	"	1 12½	-	-	28 68	-	-	29 42	-	-	-	-	-
	Weaving	3 25	1 75	50	52 00	-	13 00	27 23	29 79	-	-	-	-
	"	1 00	1 00	-	20 00	-	-	18 31	19 51	-	-	-	-
	Finishing	3 25	1 00	55	81 25	25 00	12 93	-	-	-	-	-	-
	"	83	55	-	23 50	7 01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	Carding	3 50	81	81	91 00	21 00	21 00	-	-	-	-	-	-
	"	93	81	81	24 17	21 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Spinning	1 70	-	-	42 50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Weaving	2 75	-	-	71 50	-	-	28 40	41 99	-	-	-	-
	"	1 25	-	-	32 50	-	-	22 84	25 51	-	-	-	-

[illegible]

* Stopped for repairs in August.

TABLE No. 4.—*Concluded.*

Office No.	DEPARTMENT.	Wages per Day.			Earnings per Month.			Piece Earnings per Month.			Lost Time, Day Workers.		
		Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Childr'n.
186	All Departments, .	{ \$1 80	\$1 20	\$0 58	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
172	Carding Department, .	{ 3 50	1 00	75	-	-	-	\$55 07	\$47 92	-	-	-	-
	Dyeing "	{ 1 25	87	50	-	-	-	39 15	32 46	-	-	-	-
207	All Departments, .	{ 2 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Dressing Department, .	{ 1 25	75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	Weaving "	{ 5 00	71	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Finishing "	{ 1 25	1 00	-	\$48 40	\$26 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
113	-	{ 2 50	1 90	-	-	65 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
153	-	{ 1 42	1 20	-	-	29 82	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
142	All Departments .	{ 2 42	1 50	83	59 29	38 25	\$24 00	-	-	-	-	-	-
122	"	{ 1 25	75	75	24 00	21 60	21 66	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	Carding Department, .	{ 4 50	1 25	-	-	-*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Spinning "	{ 1 25	71	65	78 00	16 00	15 00	53 38	25 40	-	-	-	-
	Weaving "	{ 3 00	65	-	26 00	14 83	12 69	24 39	7 65	-	-	-	-
		{ 1 00	85	65	45 50	22 10	16 90	-	-	-	-	-	-
		{ 1 11	65	-	28 86	16 90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		{ 1 85	-	65	48 10	-	16 90	55 00	-	-	-	-	-
		{ 1 24	-	65	32 24	-	16 90	30 00	-	-	-	-	-
		{ 2 00	1 11	65	52 00	28 86	16 90	50 00	-	-	-	-	-
		{ 1 30	65	59	33 80	16 90	15 34	20 00	-	-	-	-	-

[illegible]

Wages exceeding \$2.50 are those of overseers.

* Average \$23.71, 22½ days.

TABLE NO. 5.

*Showing Counties and Towns to which Blank No. 3 was addressed,
and from which returns have been received.*

<i>Sent to Berkshire County.</i> Adams.	Winchester. Woburn.
<i>Sent to Bristol County.</i> Fall River. Mansfield. New Bedford. Raynham. Taunton.	<i>Sent to Norfolk County.</i> Braintree. Dedham. Dorchester. Cohasset. Medway. Needham. Randolph. Sharon. Stoughton. Walpole. West Roxbury. Weymouth.
<i>Sent to Essex County.</i> Amesbury. Beverly. Bradford. Danvers. Georgetown. Haverhill. Lawrence. Lynn. Methuen. Newburyport. North Andover. Rowley. Swampscott.	<i>Sent to Plymouth County.</i> Abington. Bridgewater. East Bridgewater. Hanson. Middleborough. North Bridgewater. Plymouth. West Bridgewater. Hyde Park.
<i>Sent to Hampden County.</i> Holyoke. Springfield.	<i>Sent to Suffolk County.</i> Boston. Chelsea.
<i>Sent to Hampshire County.</i> Hadley.	<i>Sent to Worcester County.</i> Athol. Blackstone. Clinton. Grafton. Milford. Northbridge. Spencer. Sturbridge. Sutton. Upton. West Boylston. Worcester. North Brookfield.
<i>Sent to Middlesex County.</i> Acton. Cambridge. Charlestown. Concord. Framingham. Holliston. Lowell. Malden. Marlborough. Medford. Natick. Stoneham. Stow. Waltham.	

TABLE No. 5.—*Concluded.*

<i>Received from Bristol County.</i> Fall River. Mansfield. New Bedford. Taunton. Raynham.	Stoneham. Woburn.
<i>Received from Essex County.</i> Amesbury. Bradford. Lawrence. Georgetown. North Andover. Rowley. Newburyport.	<i>Received from Norfolk County.</i> Dorchester. Hyde Park. Needham Randolph. Stoughton. Weymouth.
<i>Received from Hampden County.</i> Springfield.	<i>Received from Plymouth County.</i> Abington. Hanson. West Bridgewater.
<i>Received from Middlesex County.</i> Concord. Charlestown. Acton. Lowell. Framingham. Natick. Medford. Malden.	<i>Received from Suffolk County.</i> Boston. Chelsea. <i>Received from Worcester County.</i> Athol. Grafton. North Brookfield. Spencer. Sturbridge. Upton.

TABLE No. 6—BLANK No. 3.
Occupations or Trades of parties addressed; Nationality, Wages, &c.

TRADE.	Blank sent.	Blank re- turned.	NATIONALITY.			British Prov. and others.	WAGES.			EARNINGS, 1869.		Hours of Labor.	Days Lost.
			Amer.	Eng.	Irish.		Highest.	Lowest.	Average.	Highest.	Lowest.		
Blacksmiths,	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bricklayers,	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bookbinders,	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brass Finishers,	2	1	1	-	-	-	\$3 62	\$2 00	3 00	\$1,050 00	-	60	4
Bookkeepers,	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,700 00	-	20 to 60	-
Boot and Shoemakers,	87	29	26	1	2	-	4 00	2 00	2 67	987 00	\$450 00	36 to 72	883
Curriers,	6	4	1	-	2	1	2 50	1 92	2 14	624 00	500 00	60	162
Coopers,	1	1	1	-	-	-	5 00	3 00	3 00	725 00	-	48 to 60	127
Comb Makers,	1	1	1	-	-	-	2 00	-	2 00	400 00	-	68	50
Carpenters,	15	8	6	-	-	2	3 25	2 25	2 75	935 00	680 00	48 to 60	508
Clergyman,	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cabinet Makers,	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Clerks,	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gilders,	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hatters,	2	1	-	-	-	-	2 50	-	2 50	720 00	60	60	30
Iron Moulders,	2	1	1	-	-	1	2 25	-	1 75	675 00	-	60	26
Jewellers,	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Knitters,	2	2	-	2	-	-	2 00	-	2 00	516 00	-	60	-
Lawyers,	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Last Makers,	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Machinists,	17	6	3	2	-	1	3 25	2 35	2 25	925 00	700 00	48 to 60	107
Operatives,	53	16	3	8	1	1	2 17	1 00	1 67½	688 00	400 00	60 to 66	300
Overseers,	5	4	1	2	-	1	4 00	2 00	2 75	1,200 00	600 00	60 to 66	84

TABLE No. 7—BLANK No. 3.
Annual Cost of Living and Earnings.

No. of Blank.	TRADE.	Nationality.	Number in Family.	Number of Rooms.	Cost of Groceries and Provisions.	Cost of Rent.	Cost of Fuel.	Cost of Clothing.	Cost of Furniture.	Cost of Education and Recreation.	Cost of Charity and Religion.	Expenses of Sickness.	Sundry Expenses.	Total Expenses.	Total Receipts.
3	Bootmaker,	Irish,	7	2	\$350 95	\$42 00	\$45 00	\$50 00	\$4 25	\$9 00	\$11 50	\$1 50	\$55 00	\$569 20	\$592 00
15	Boot Crimper,	"	8	6	422 00	72 00	48 00	200 00	-	3 00	50	20 00	-	765 50	80 00
26	Inspector of Shoes,	American,	3	6	270 92	120 00	100 00	100 00	-	12 50	4 50	30 00	100 00	737 92	875 00
9	Shoe Cutter,	"	4	5	200 00	-	40 00	75 00	50 00	32 00	20 00	14 00	-	531 00	500 00
11	"	"	6	4	475 00	40 00	35 00	20 00	-	3 00	5 00	30 00	-	608 00	638 00
12	Shoemaker,	"	3	5	329 80	66 00	35 00	50 00	15 00	13 00	7 00	5 00	104 20	625 00	625 00
14	Upp. Leath. Cut'r,	"	4	5	288 87	50 00	45 00	75 00	70 00	43 00	10 00	38 00	64 07	683 94	987 87
31	Bootmaker,	"	5	6	420 00	44 00	60 00	110 00	-	20 00	9 00	10 00	13 15	686 15	686 15
32	Currier,	Irish,	5	4	401 40	72 00	30 00	40 00	30 00	2 00	-	4 00	1 00	508 42	593 28
33	"	Br. Prov.,	3	8	505 28	168 00	48 00	150 00	-	25 00	25 00	40 00	25 00	986 28	500 00
34	"	Irish,	3	8	449 28	72 00	50 00	60 00	-	5 00	52 00	46 00	2 00	736 28	624 00
36	Comb Maker,	American,	3	5	331 64	80 00	43 00	-	-	15 00	-	-	-	469 64	400 00
37	Carpenter,	"	5	8	428 00	250 00	70 00	100 00	8 00	42 00	11 00	15 50	70 00	994 50	700 00
38	"	"	4	3	412 50	180 00	45 00	-	-	50 00	-	20 00	100 00	807 00	900 00
84	Hatter,	"	2	6	232 00	120 00	60 00	100 00	-	-	32 00	5 00	-	749 00	720 00
40	Machinist,	English,	7	5	514 00	163 50	96 00	216 00	10 00	3 00	20 00	25 00	5 00	1,052 50	700 00
41	Wool Sorter,	American,	4	6	356 00	100 00	40 00	50 00	20 00	20 00	8 00	15 00	-	609 00	660 00
42	Weaver,	English,	6	-	260 00*	-	-	120 00	-	19 50	11 00	3 00	-	413 50	400 00
43	Jack Spinner,	"	5	6	437 00	50 00	35 00	-	-	-	-	-	-	522 00	539 00
44	"	Irish,	7	6	391 00	48 00	28 00	60 00	40 00	10 00	8 00	-	-	575 00	499 00
45	Mule	English,	4	4	382 00	36 00	36 00	100 00	20 00	16 00	-	-	-	600 00	600 00
46	3d hand C'd R'm,	American,	8	7	370 50	100 00	50 00	150 00	-	8 00	6 00	10 00	3 00	549 00	463 20
47	Harness Tyer,	English,	4	7	398 00	108 00	52 00	20 00	20 00	10 00	35 00	10 00	40 00	733 00	576 00

48	Dresser Tender,	English, .	3	\$284 00	\$96 00	\$40 00	150 00	\$10 00	23 00	\$37 50	10 00	\$12 00	\$662 50	\$650 00
50	Overseer, .	American, .	10	441 00	105 00	50 00	80 00	50 00	30 00	75 00	12 00	200 00	1,043 00	1,200 00
51	Painter, .	Irish, .	2	406 00	60 00	35 00	20 00	15 00	20 00	22 00	25 00	—	603 00	500 00
52	Ship-joiner,	American, .	2	265 00	—	27 50	100 00	45 00	60 00	55 00	10 00	152 00	714 50	740 42
53	Porter, .	"	3	383 00	167 00	67 42	130 75	37 85	53 00	2 15	15 00	—	856 17	871 00
81	Knitter, .	English, .	7	541 00	100 00	45 00	70 00	40 00	9 50	9 00	35 00	8 00	726 50	772 00
76	Bootmaker, .	"	9	535 00	—	57 75	150 00	—	11 00	13 00	—	10 00	776 75	700 00
89	Sole Leath. Cut'r,	American, .	3	384 00	100 00	59 98	150 00	—	—	25 00	39 00	183 94	941 92	932 00
79	Boot Treer,	"	7	400 00	200 00	75 00	150 00	50 00	15 00	5 00	100 00	—	1,010 00	900 00
74	Overlooker, .	English, .	3	258 00	72 00	50 00	100 00	6 00	10 00	8 00	—	40 00	544 00	670 00
69	Sashmaker, .	American, .	3	362 00	—	45 00	60 00	50 00	35 00	40 00	20 00	—	612 00	841 75
67	Boot Cutter, .	"	3	210 00	—	40 00	50 00	10 00	30 00	25 00	100 00	35 00	500 00	600 00

Total number of families,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	35
" " of persons,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	154
Average to a family,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4 ⁴ / ₁₀
" expense of family,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	\$701 20
" earnings per family,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	683 59
" loss per year to each family,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	17 61

* Board.

TABLE No. 8.—BLANK No. 3.
Trades, Nationalities, Wages, Hours of Labor, Value of Real Estate.

No. of Blank.	TRADE.	Nation.	Age.	Years employ- ed.	Married or Single.	No. in Family.	No. of Rooms.	Wages.	Hours of Labor.	Value of Prop- erty.	Amount of Mortgage.
2	Book-keeper, .	American,	56	20	Married,	3	8	—*	20 to 60	\$2,200 00	—
1	Brass Finisher,	"	52	23	"	4	7	\$3 62	60	3,000 00	\$1,400 00
18	Boot Maker, .	"	37	12	"	6	8	2 50	60	300 00	—
19	"	"	42	30	"	6	8	2 50	60	750 00	400 00
67	" Cutter, .	"	54	25	"	3	7	3 00	60	600 00	300 00
76	" Maker, .	English,	48	34	"	9	8	2 50	63	400 00†	300 00
68	Currier, .	American,	37	16	Single, .	—	8	2 50	60	1,800 00	—
69	Carpenter, .	"	49	15	Married,	3	5	3 00	60	—\$	—
40	Machinist, .	English,	44	4	"	7	5	2 35	60	3,300 00	2,000 00
47	Operative, .	"	65	22	"	4	7	2 00	60	2,400 00	2,100 00
70	Ship Carpenter,	American,	47	31	"	5	6	3 26	48	1,100 00	—
52	"	"	45	25	"	2	6	3 26	48	750 00	125 00
71	"	"	45	28	"	4	5	3 26	48	600 00	—
8	Shoemaker, .	"	27	3	"	2	5	3 00	50 to 60	500 00†	100 00
9	Shoe Cutter, .	"	34	12	"	4	5	2 25	60	1,700 00	800 00

28	Printer, .	.	American,	.	48	36	Married,	.	7	11	-†	60	\$2,500 00	\$1,500 00
72	Overseer,	.	Scotch, .	.	50	20	"	.	5	5	\$2 00	66	3,600 00	1,500 00
73	"	.	English, .	.	39	16	"	.	5	7	3 26	60	4,500 00	1,900 00
74	"	.	"	.	30	6	"	.	3	3	2 25	64	300 00	-
85	Spinner,	.	"	.	55	40	"	.	2	5	1 50	66	100 00	-
16	Upper Leather Cutter,	.	American,	.	51	35	"	.	6	5	2 25	59	750 00	415 00
127	Operative,	.	English,	.	34	3½	"	.	7	6	2 13	67	1,000 00†	-
77	Shoemaker,	.	American,	.	31	-	"	.	3	-	2 00	-	600 00	400 00
81	Knitter, .	.	English,	.	37	22	"	.	7	5	-	65	137 00	-
103	Ship Carpenter,	.	American,	.	60	30	"	.	8	12	3 26	48	4,500 00	1,000 00

* \$1,700 a year.

† \$1,500 a year.

‡ Soldiers.

§ Value not given.

TABLE No. 9.

*Comparative Wages for 1861 and 1869, answering Question 114,
Blank No. 3.*

Office No.	TRADE.	DAY WAGES, 1861.		DAY WAGES, 1869.	
		Highest.	Lowest.	Highest.	Lowest.
124	Shoe Binder, (female,) . . .	\$1 33	\$0 50	\$1 50	-
121	Painter,	1 25	1 00	2 50	\$1 50
111	Machinist,	-	-	4 50	2 00
105	Carpenter,	-	-	3 00	1 25
88	Machinist,	2 00	1 50	4 00	2 50
87	Bootmaker,	4 50	1 50	5 00	3 00
86	Iron Moulder,	2 00	1 00	2 50	1 00
83	Machinist,	2 00	-	3 00	2 50
69	Door and Sash Maker, . . .	1 75	-	2 31	-
67	Boot Cutter,	2 00	75	4 00	1 25
53	Porter,	2 00	1 33	3 00	2 00
53	Teamster,	1 50	1 17	2 50	1 66
23	Bootmaker,	-	-	5 00	75
50	Overseer,	3 00	2 00	3 50	2 50
42	Woollen Weaver,	1 25	90	-	-
41	Wool Sorter,	1 50	-	2 25	1 80
40	Machinist,	2 00	1 00	3 00	1 50
103	Ship Carpenter,	2 50	-	3 26	-
34	Currier,	-	-	3 00	1 00
11	Shoe Cutter,	2 00	75	3 50	1 75
15	Boot Crimper,	2 50	-	2 75	-
19	Bootmaker,	1 75	50	3 00	1 00
33	Currier,	-	-	3 50	1 50
15	Mule Spinner,	1 25	-	2 10	-
79	Boot Treer,	2 00	1 00	2 75	1 50
3	Bootmaker,	-	-	3 25	1 75
48	Dresser Tender,	1 25	-	2 25	-
46	Carder, (3d hand,)	1 00	75	1 37	1 00
38	Carpenter,	2 25	1 50	3 50	2 25
45	Mule Spinner,	1 33	1 17	2 28	1 50
1	Brass Finisher,	3 00	1 50	4 00	2 00
9	Shoe Cutter,	1 50	60	3 00	1 50
18	Boot Maker,	4 00	1 00	5 25	1 25
115	Woollen Spinner,	-	-	1 97	1 07
127	Carpet Weaver,	-	-	1 56	-
71	Ship Joiner,	-	-	4 50	2 50

SUMMARY OF LAWS IN RELATION TO OR AFFECTING LABOR,

FROM 1833 TO 1869, INCLUSIVE.

Nothing specific is found in the volume which covers the period from 1822 to 1831.

Governor Lincoln's Address, January 8, 1833, appeals to the legislature for an equal participation of creditors in the effects of bankrupts, and for mitigation of imprisonment. He refers to having fully and repeatedly submitted his views to previous legislatures.

The volume of State documents for 1831 contains the Report of a Special Commission appointed by Governor Lincoln; this report was presented by him to the legislature June 1, 1831; it provides for an equal distribution of assets, and by one of its sections proposes to abolish imprisonment for any debt of less than fifty dollars.

March 12, 1833, an Act of incorporation was granted to the South Reading Mechanic and Agricultural Institution, "for encouragement to agriculture and the mechanic arts, and for relieving the distresses of unfortunate mechanics and their families."

March 19, 1833, an Act was approved by the Governor, releasing civil officers from suit in case of the escape of a debtor from prison.

February 28, 1834.—Worcester County Manual Labor High School incorporated.

March 6, 1834.—Berkshire County Manual Labor High School incorporated.

March 31, 1834.—Act abolishing imprisonment for debt approved.

Chap. 245, vol. 13, Laws of Massachusetts, 1834 to 1836.—An Act to provide for the better instruction of youth employed in manufacturing establishments. This Act requires three months' schooling each year; employer fined fifty dollars for violating. *App. April 16, 1836.*

The Address of Governor Davis to the Legislature of 1835, (House Doc. No. 3,) deplores the low repute of the State militia, and states that it is probably the bitter fruit of unsatisfactory laws.

Chap. 107, vol. 14, Laws of Massachusetts, 1837-8.—An Act to provide for the better instruction of youth in manufacturing establishments. This Act provides for the release of the employer from penalty in case he is provided with a sworn certificate of attendance at school.

Chap. 58, Laws of 1839, incorporates the Charlestown Mechanics' Union Charitable Association, with the powers set forth in the 44th chapter of the Revised Statutes.

Chap. 54, Laws of 1841.—Danvers Mechanic Institute incorporated.

Chap. 49, Laws of 1843.—Boston Society for the Diffusion of Information among Emigrants incorporated.

Chap. 169, Acts of 1845.—Brook Farm Phalanx incorporated, “for the purpose of promoting education, agricultural knowledge and habits of manual and mechanical industry.” Powers and liabilities set forth in the 38th and 44th chapters of the Revised Statutes.

Chap. 171, Acts of 1845.—An Act to obtain statistical information in relation to certain branches of industry. [Foundation of the industrial returns.]

Chap. 99, Acts of 1845.—Act granting one-half of a township in Maine, six miles square, to the Worcester County Manual Labor High School.

Chap. 220, Acts of 1849.—An Act defining and repealing sections of previous Acts concerning the employment of children.

Chap. 294, Acts of 1850.—Cities and towns authorized to make all needful provisions concerning truants and children not attending school.

Chap. 66, Acts of 1850.—An Act incorporating the Worcester County Mechanics’ Association; “purpose to promote moral and intellectual improvement, perfect the mechanic arts and for charitable purposes.”

Chap. 343, Acts of 1851.—An Act to secure to mechanics and laborers their payment for labor by a lien on real estate.

Chap. 240, Acts of 1852, “requires all persons having children under their control to send them to school three months each year.”

Chap. 307, Acts of 1852.—Extension of the principles of the lien law.

Chap. 313, Acts of 1852.—An Act to incorporate the Suffolk Mutual Loan and Accumulating Fund Association; “object of the association to loan funds to those contributors who wish to purchase homesteads.”

Chap. 283, Acts of 1852.—General truant law.

Chap. 343, Acts of 1853.—City truant law.

Chap. 392, Acts of 1854.—An Act to incorporate the Model Lodging House Association.

Chap. 309, Acts of 1855, requires school committees to report violations of the law of May, 1852, to the treasurers of their towns and cities.

Chap. 379, Acts of 1855, amends the Act of May, 1849, concerning children.

Chap. 18, Acts of 1855.—Act incorporating an Industrial School for Girls. Lucretia O. Everett and others.

Chap. 444, Acts of 1855.—An Act abolishing imprisonment for debt, except in cases of fraud.

Chap. 431, Acts of 1855.—Amendment to lien law.

Chap. 231, Acts of 1855.—Extension of the lien law to ships and vessels.

Chap. 141, Acts of 1857, consolidates the Acts concerning imprisonment for debt and the punishment of fraudulent debtors.

Chap. 50, Acts of 1857, requires the Insurance Commissioners to report annually the conduct and condition of the Loan Fund Associations.

Chap. 83, Acts of 1858, requires eighteen weeks’ schooling.

Chap. 55, Acts of 1858.—Amendment to lien law.

Chap. 188, Acts of 1859.—School committees required to give notice to treasurers of violations of the Act of 1852; treasurer fined if he fails to comply.

Chap. 166, Acts of 1863.—An Act to provide for the reception of a grant of Congress, and to create a fund for the promotion of education in agriculture and the mechanic arts.

Chap. 116, Acts of 1865.—Act to incorporate the Boston Labor Reform Association, for the purpose of improving the condition of the mechanic and laboring classes in their various occupations, &c.

Chap. 62, Acts of 1865, appoints an unpaid commission of five to collect information and statistics in regard to the hours of labor and the condition and prospects of the industrial class.

Chap. 206, Acts of 1865, exempts from attachment the tools of a mechanic to the amount of not more than three hundred dollars.

Chap. 270, Acts of 1865, amends the apprenticeship law by repealing imprisonment and substituting a bond.

Chap. 290, Acts of 1866.—Act authorizing the formation of coöperative associations.

Chap. 67, Acts of 1866.—The business hours of the departments of the State government to be determined by the governor and council.

Chap. 92, Resolves of 1866.—Resolve authorizing the appointment by the governor of a commission of three persons to investigate the subject of the hours of labor in its relation to the social, educational and sanitary condition of the working classes.

Chap. 285, Acts of 1867.—An Act in relation to the schooling and hours of labor of children employed in manufacturing and mechanical establishments.

Chap. 302, Acts of 1869, provides for cancelling the indentures of wards of the State in certain cases.

Chap. 305, Acts of 1869, provides that towns and cities may maintain evening schools for those over twelve years of age.

Chaps. 57 and 72, Resolves of 1869, appropriates fifty thousand dollars to the Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science, with a proviso for gratuitous instruction.

Chap. 102, Resolves of 1869, provides by Resolve for the establishment of a Bureau of Statistics of Labor.

LIST OF BOOKS RELATING TO QUESTIONS OF INDUSTRY,

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 Workingmen's Manual. Simpson. Philadelphia. 1831.
 Essay on Wages. Carey. Philadelphia. 1835.
 Tucker on Wages, Profits and Rent. Philadelphia. 1837.
 Industry in Ireland. London. 1865.
 Strikes and Lock-outs. London. 1867.
 Unsentimental Journeys. London. 1867.
 England's Workshops. London. 1864.
 Handicraftsmen and Capitalists. Birmingham. 1867.
 Social Reform in England. New York. 1866.
 Kay's Social Condition of the English People. New York. 1863.
 The Working Classes in the United States. London. 1865.
 Habits and Customs of the Working Classes. By a Journeyman Engineer. London. 1867.
 Wages and Earnings of the Working Classes. Levi. London. 1867.
 Progress of the Working Classes from 1832 to 1867. London. 1867.
 Better Day for Working People. London. 1865.
 The Industrial History of Birmingham. London. 1866.
 Homes of the Working Classes. James Hale. London. 1866.
 Happy Homes for Workingmen. Begg. London. 1866.
 Heads and Hands in the World of Labor. Blakie. London. 1865.
 The Economic Position of the British Laborer. Fawcett. London. 1865.
 Workingmen's Social Clubs and Educational Institutes. London. 1867.
 The Last Thirty Years in a Mining District. London. 1867.
 The Sixth Work, or the Charity of Moral Effort. London. 1866.
 Arts and Artisans. Symons. Edinburgh. 1839.
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 Resources and Prospects of America. Sir S. M. Peto. London. 1866.
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 The Theory of Business. Laing. London. 1867.
 A Practical Treatise on Business. Freedly. Philadelphia. 1852.
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 Pratt's Friendly Societies. London. 1867.

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 Three Letters on the Devonshire Laborer. Trevelyan. (Pamphlet.)
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 The Peasantry of England. Perry. London. 1846.
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 The Working Classes. Simmons. London. 1849.
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 The Evils of England. By a London Physician. 1848.
 Earl of Shaftesbury's Speeches. London. 1868.
 The Children of Lutetia. Blanchard Jerrold. 2 vols. London. 1864.
 London Charities. Fry. 1869.
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 Wing's Evils of the Factory System.
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Public Schools Commission. 4 vols. Vol. 1—Report. Vol. 2—Appendix. Vols. 3 and 4—Minutes of Evidence.

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[Extracted from the General Catalogue of Parliamentary papers issued by P. S. King, 34 Parliament Street, London. Forwarded to the Bureau, from London, by Hon. J. Lathrop Motley, U. S. Minister to England.]

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Page 46, line 9 from top—for *he*, read *they*.

“ 111, foot-note—The years of these dividends are 1861 to 1869, inclusive.

“ 140, line 2 from bottom—for *least*, read *last*.

“ 201, Appendix—numeration of Tables, omit *and* 10.

“ 240, line 11 from bottom—for *Pickers* read *Piecers*.



